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# "Three Men from Maine"

BOSTON  
EST. 1802

SIR WILLIAM PEPPERRELL

SIR WILLIAM PHIPS

JAMES SULLIVAN

*By*

John Francis Sprague

BOSTON  
EST. 1802

AND

*A Bit of Old England in New England*

*By*

670

Bertram E. Packard

Sprague's Journal of Maine History

Dover-Foxcroft, Maine

1924

A very faint, light gray watermark-style illustration occupies the background of the page. It depicts three men in a landscape. On the left, a man in a long coat and hat stands near a small building. In the center, a man in a top hat and coat walks towards the right. On the right, another man in a coat and hat stands near a large, stylized tree or building structure. The scene is set against a backdrop of rolling hills and a cloudy sky.

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Sir William Pepperrell

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SIR WILLIAM PEPPERELL



## SIR WILLIAM PEPPERRELL



MAINE as a district and as a state has had four of her citizens knighted for activities of worth and super-importance by the English government: Sir William Phips, in the seventeenth, the first Sir William Pepperrell and the second Sir William Pepperrell in the eighteenth, and Sir Hiram Maxim in the nineteenth century.

The parents of the first and the last named were poor in worldly affairs and unable to bestow upon their children such educational privileges as the youth of their times, who were more fortunately circumstanced, generally received. With the exception of the second Pepperrell none of them were college graduates. Phips, especially, was born and reared in conditions of real destitution.

Sir William Pepperrell's father had acquired some property, had established a profitable commercial business and his children never knew from actual experience the meaning of poverty as the Phips family or even, in a lesser degree, as did the Maxims.

His father, Colonel William Pepperrell, was a Welshman, a native of Ravistock Parish, near Plymouth in Wales.<sup>1</sup> The exact date of his birth is not known. His parents were of the common laboring folk and, when twenty-two years of age, he left his native shores for America and settled on the Isles of Shoals, some ten or twelve miles from the mouth of the Merrimac, within the borders of what is now the state of New Hampshire, and nine miles southerly from Kittery Point. Here he pursued the vocation of deep sea fishing for several years, during which time he accumulated a small amount of money that he invested in fishing boats, which he let to neighbors less frugal or fortunate than himself. This was the beginning of the foundation of what was at that time an immense fortune and that gave the Pepperrell family wide-spread influence and power throughout the colony as well as an enviable credit and reputation in England.

(1) Usher Parsons' *Life of Sir William Pepperrell* (Boston, 1855) p. 1.



A few years prior to this John Bray emigrated from England to America and made a home for himself and family at Kittery Point. He was an expert boat builder and later became a large builder and owner of ships. He also acquired wealth and was a man of prominence in the community.

One of his family was a daughter, Margery, less than two years of age when he sailed from England and when he begun life at Kittery Point. Young Pepperrell frequently had business with John Bray. So, after a residence of five or six years there, and after having met and become acquainted and much smitten with the charms of the daughter, Margery, then a comely girl in her 'teens, he naturally decided that Kittery was a more promising location for him than the rather barren and lonesome Isles of Shoals, which boasted of no such attractive young girl among its settlers as Margery Bray. When she was seventeen Pepperell sought her hand in marriage but her tender years were offered as an objection by her parents. The young man from Wales prospered in fishing, shipping and trade, and when Margery had attained to what her father conceived to be a proper age for wedlock, he wisely consented to the union and made the happy couple a wedding gift of a piece of land, the site of the present Pepperell mansion in Kittery.

When Captain John Smith visited Piscataqua in 1614, a large Indian population flourished there. This Indian settlement was called Newichewannocks, whose sachem lived at Quampegan (now South Berwick). Soon afterward a fatal epidemic swept off a large portion of his tribe, making it more accessible for English settlers who began to arrive as early as 1623. In the early years houses were erected in the Piscataqua valley near the water's edge. The communication between settlers was carried on by water for the first fifty years; then rough bridle paths were constructed through the woods. The building of log houses was gradually extended away from the coast line and along these paths, which eventually developed into highways for ox-carts, chaises and other vehicles of that day, and the high power automobiles of this day.



Mills increased on the small rivers and lumber and ship-timber floated down the river in rafts to be shipped to various European and American ports. But the most extensive and lucrative business was the fisheries. This became a great industry. They were carried to many parts of the world and exchanged for tobacco, and corn from the south; for tropical goods from the West Indies; dry goods, sails, naval stores, cordage, wines and fruit from England, Spain, and Portugal. It was this business that the Pepperrells and Brays were engaged in.

The disastrous Indian war of King Philip, in 1675, was a fatal blow to these prosperous people. And after its close Indian depredations continued to such an extent that there was but little change for the better until Governor Phips in 1693, built forts at Pemaquid and at the mouth of the Saco river. Yet the Pepperrells, conducting a business on the ocean, did not suffer from the raids and conflagrations of the Indians, following the close of the King Philip war, as did many others on the Maine coast. They prospered and with their surplus earnings invested in lands until they became the largest land owners in that vicinity.

William Pepperrell, Junior, Sir William Pepperrell, was born at Kittery Point, June 27, 1696. As a boy he attended the village school where he acquired only rudimentary learning; but under the guide of a competent private tutor he was taught land surveying, became proficient in ship navigation and learned something of geography. From childhood to manhood he lived in the midst of savage warfare and breathed the air of self-protection by the shedding of blood. The events, which he heard the most of as a youth, were tales of Indians burning villages and scalping his neighbors all the way from Kittery Point to Casco Bay. Reared among such scenes it was only natural that he should have been imbued with a military spirit when only a lad. At sixteen he aided in keeping ward and watch, and bore arms in patrol duty.

On the death of his only brother, Andrew, the firm name of William Pepperrell & Son was changed to The William Pepperrells.



When not attending school, he assisted in his father's store which was laborious, for they dealt in provisions, naval stores and similar heavy merchandise. His recreations were generally water sports with boys and girls, who were the children of fishermen, and hunting game in the adjacent forests. Thus, both his work and play tended to promote muscular development and the power of enduring fatigue. They gave him a robust frame and vigorous mental quality. Such a life ever makes strong men, physically, mentally and morally.

In 1716 the Pepperrells bought of the agents of Benjamin Blackman who had purchased it from the original proprietors, Gibbons and Bonython, a large tract of land which included a considerable portion of what is now the city of Saco, extending from the ocean several miles along the Saco river. Within it were the water powers where are situated the cotton mills and other manufactories of that busy town. This purchase, while made in the name of the elder Pepperrell, was purchased for his son, William, then a minor, and subsequently conveyed to him. In 1729 young Pepperrell bought land adjoining to such an extent that he was soon the sole owner of nearly all of Saco, then named Pepperrellboro, and Scarboro. He erected mills and sold lots to settlers, all of which increased their income and constantly augmented the value of their estates. Soon after the Saco purchase he arrived at the age of twenty-one years. He assumed, as a partner of the firm of Pepperrells, the duties of an outside manager, having charge of the improvements made there and of contracting for the building of vessels on the Piscataqua and Saco rivers.

That ship building had become very profitable with them is illustrated by the fact that the ship carpenters of the Thames complained to the government in 1724 that their trade was being impaired by the Pepperrells and other ship builders in New England. For the purpose of favoring British manufacturers, Parliament had prohibited the manufacture of woolens in America for exportation from one colony to another, and in London were favored by an act forbidding the hatters of the colonies to employ



more than one apprentice. Hence, fostering colonial ship building harmonized with England's narrow and selfish policy of restricting manufacturing here and incidentally inured to the welfare of the Pepperrells.

The younger Pepperrell also conducted much of the trade of his firm with Boston and in London. Theirs had an ascendancy over all other mercantile houses in New England. Thus the young man was brought into a close and intimate connection with the public men in Boston. This led to an entrance into the delightful Boston aristocracy of that period, by which means he cultivated courtly manners and an address of ease and politeness. The history of the Puritans has been written for us in two kinds and by two classes of writers. One by the methodical historians and plodding antiquarians, by those delving into the dry details of all the events; the other by the poet, the dramatist, and the novelist. Both have instructed us and pleased our fancy. Upon Hawthorne's pages we behold the ancient Puritan society; austere, solemn, prayerful, rigid; and we also see the later colonial aristocracy, laced and powdered, with its dignified and proper dancing and amateurish indulgence in frivolities which their forbears had forbidden as having been designed only by and for the enemies of God. William Pepperrell lived in the days of the latter. With them he was a favorite. At an early age honors sought him. He was commissioned justice of the peace at the end of his minority and was soon offered the captaincy of a company of cavalry. From this he was promoted to major and then made colonel, which placed him in command of all the militia of Maine. In 1726 he was chosen representative to the General Court from Kittery, which then included Eliot, and the year following received further political promotion as appears by the following notice:

Boston, June 1, 1727.

SIR,—I am directed by the Honorable Lieutenant-Governor and Council to acquaint you that you are elected and appointed a counsellor or assistant for the ensuing year, and that your attendance at the council-board is desired as soon as may be.

Your humble servant,

J. WILLARD.



Among the Boston families which William met socially was that of Grove Hirst, a man of distinction in the colony. He was a successful merchant, had acquired much wealth, was well known and influential throughout New England. His wife was a daughter of Judge Sewell of the Supreme Court. The Hirsts were connected by marriage with that most excellent, famous and eccentric individual whose name and doings are strangely intertwined with almost everything and everybody of consequence in early York or Kittery, the Reverend William Moody, better known as Parson Moody.

Grove Hirst had a daughter prepossessing and attractive and regarded as a beautiful young lady by young Pepperrell and one other that we have information of. He had met the lady in the social circles of Boston and when she was visiting Parson Moody's, he made frequent calls and was quite attentive to her. The other admirer chanced to be none other than the parson's own son who was a schoolmaster in York. Possibly an embarrassing situation. But Pepperrell was successful in love as well, as afterwards, in war, and succeeded in winning Mary's affections and on March 16, 1723, they were united in marriage. The Pepperrell mansion at Kittery was enlarged and became their home.

In 1730 Governor Belcher had a friend whom he desired to make clerk of the Court of Common Pleas, but this was a prerogative of the judges to appoint and they preferred the old incumbent. A sort of dead-lock or political contest was on between the governor and the court. It was furious but short. While the court were not compelled to obey his wishes he possessed the power to summarily remove them and appoint others in their places. This he immediately proceeded to do. His new appointees were William Pepperrell, Junior, chief justice; Samuel Caine, Timothy Gerrish, and Joseph Moody, associates. In this arbitrary fashion the governor succeeded in placing his favorite in office. This was American politics in the first part of the eighteenth century. Mr. Pepperrell was not a lawyer but set about in his usual energetic manner to qualify for



his new position. He commenced by ordering from London a law library. He read law as any law student would have done in those days, and devoted all of his spare moments to informing himself regarding the rules of law and court procedure. That he continued to hold this place until his death, in 1759, is assurance that he made a good judge.

The causes which led to the capture of Louisburg in 1745 are a part of the epic story of a New France in the New World. Dreamed of by the explorers and discoverers of the sixteenth, it was vitalized by the adventurers, missionaries and colonizers of the seventeenth century and for more than a hundred years was a tragical conflict between the Anglo-Saxon and the Latin for supremacy until Wolfe captured Quebec in the eighteenth century. Acadia, including ancient Nova Scotia, and English settlements along the sea coast and rivers of Maine, constituted much of its battle ground. Cape Breton, an island guarding the approaches to the St. Lawrence, was in the early part of the seventeenth century in the possession of the English colonists. By treaty in 1632 it was restored to France. In 1710 with the fall of Port Royal, which was taken by New England troops and renamed Annapolis, Cape Breton again fell to the English as did the rest of Acadia. The English held this island by possession until the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, when what is now Nova Scotia was ceded to Great Britain, France retaining the island of Cape Breton and renaming it Isle Royale. This was all of New France that then remained of all her Atlantic possessions.

France immediately began to fortify the harbor, formerly known as English Harbor, giving it a new name, Louisburg, in honor of the French monarch, Louis XIV. Whether or not the English representatives at Utrecht overlooked the strategic importance of this situation is not clear. But it was a menace to the interests of Great Britain and her colonial possessions. A fortified seaport on the ocean front of the island could not be otherwise. Ever since the days of Governor Phips, New England had been incessant in warning the home government of the dangers



of French invasion, but many times without avail. Generally the English administrations did not take a lively interest in anything regarding American affairs until some serious, international condition developed in European politics that endangered her colonial interests. Such a situation arose in 1743.

England had been involved in war with Spain. It was feared that the reverses of Spain would drive her to drawing France into the conflict as an ally and leaders in New England had foreseen it and striven to awaken the government to what seemed to them impending perils. Events during the first of that year proved their fears to be well grounded. Early in October a government schooner arrived at Boston from England, bringing dispatches to all the governors that in ten days after her departure war with France would be declared, and orders from Admiralty to all naval commanders on the coast to prepare for hostilities.

Colonel Pepperrell received the following letter from Governor Shirley:

Boston, October 10, 1743.

Sir—Having received advices from Great Britain that there is great danger of a rupture with France, I think it necessary and accordingly direct you forthwith to advise the exposed towns and settlements hereof, and to take proper care that the inhabitants secure themselves and families against any sudden assault from the Indians, and that they do not expose themselves by being too far from home in this time of danger, and that the companies in your regiment that are not much exposed, be in readiness to relieve any of the neighboring places in case there should be any occasion for it. I am, Sir,

Your friend and servant,

W. SHIRLEY.

On the 13th, Pepperrell writes to all his captains a copy of the foregoing, and adds:

I hope that he who gave us our breath will give us the courage and prudence to behave ourselves like true-born Englishmen.

Your friend and humble servant,

W. PEPPERRELL.

France declared war March 15, 1744, and England two weeks later. The people in no part of the colonies took deeper interest in the preparation for the capture of Louisburg than did the inhabitants along the coast of Maine, who



for years had endured so much suffering and distress from the Indian allied with the French against the English. It was the principal theme of conversation in every home, shop, mill and store and in all the pulpits as well. Boston realized better than London the necessity of wresting Louisburg from the French if safety to trade and navigation and the very existence of the colonies was to be insured. Each province at that time maintained one or more armed vessels. The General Court was divided upon the expediency of undertaking this enterprise without powerful aid from England. A large number of its members were conservative, lacked faith in the possibility of success and opposed it. Had a less resolute and resourceful man than Shirley been governor the project would probably have failed of maturing. The governor's foresight was greater than any of the others and his determination to accomplish his purpose was unwavering. In the latter part of 1744 he wrote letters to the ministry imploring them to co-operate with him in protecting colonial interests. Early in January (1745) orders were dispatched to Commodore Warren, then at the West India station, to proceed to New England with his squadron and co-operate with Governor Shirley in protecting the fisheries. The whole subject of the proposed expedition had to be acted upon by the General Court. The governor desired to know in advance what its action would be. Then he deemed it necessary that for a time all of the plans should remain a secret. Early in January he requested its members to take an oath of secrecy regarding a proposition that he was about to lay before them. Secrecy was observed for some days until a member of the legislature, who was a pious deacon, and had a habit of raising his voice when talking to the Lord, was overheard in his private devotions invoking Heaven for its blessings upon the governor's secret plans. When it thus became known the boldness of the scheme astounded everyone. It was referred to a committee who reported adversely and it was supposed that it was on the discard pile forever. But Shirley could not thus be thwarted. He caused petitions from merchants in Boston, Salem and



other parts to be circulated and presented to the legislature, requesting a re-consideration of its action. After quite a protracted debate a final vote was taken, January 26, 1745. Shirley's friends carried it by a majority of one vote. From that time on the people of the colonies were seething with patriotism. All were united on protecting American interests by removing once for all from this continent the French menace.

The first and most difficult task before Governor Shirley was the choice of a commander of the expedition. New England had no trained military officers of experience. After much consideration and consultation with public men of the colonies, the selection of William Pepperrell, of Kittery, was decided upon. He was well and favorably known throughout New England, was extensively engaged in the fisheries, popular and wealthy. In the vernacular of today he was a good "mixer," of agreeable manners and had long held the office of president of the governor's council. This patriotism was unquestioned and all had faith in his sterling qualities and a belief that he would succeed. Having decided after considerable hesitation to accept of the command, he entered on the duties with his usual tenacity and determination. He advanced five thousand pounds to the province from his own fortune. The enlistment was rapid, owing much of its success to the popularity of Colonel Pepperrell. Religious feeling ran high. Pepperrell took Parson Moody along as chaplain of his regiment. The good parson's religious zeal ingrained with more or less bigotry impelled him to carry upon his shoulder a hatchet "for the purpose of destroying images in the French Catholic churches." Deacon John Gray of Biddeford wrote Pepperrell: "O that I could be with you and dear Parson Moody in that church, to destroy the images there set up and hear the true gospel there preached."<sup>2</sup> In less than two months from the day the court voted, a military force of 4,220 men had been recruited. Of these, 3,250 men were from Massachusetts, about one-third of which were from Maine.<sup>3</sup> Pepperrell now bore the military title of Lieutenant-General.



Nova Scotia proper extended westward from the Strait of Canso to Cape Sable and was then in possession of the English who had two garrisoned forts in it, one at the mouth of the Strait on an island called Canso, and the other on the north side in the Bay of Fundy, called Port Royal, or Annapolis. The commander at Louisburg on hearing that war had been declared attacked and captured the Canso garrison and conveyed the prisoners to Louisburg before the news of the declaration of war had reached Boston. A similar expedition was directed against the fort at Annapolis but Governor Shirley anticipating hostilities had sent reinforcements which enabled it to repel the assault. This was the situation when Pepperrell with his troops left Boston March 24, 1745, and arrived at Canso on the first day of April. Pepperrell sailed from Canso and landed on the place selected the following morning. Commander Warren, learning on his way to Boston that Pepperrell had sailed, changed his course for Canso.

Space will not permit us to describe the siege in detail. On May 7, Pepperrell and Warren sent to Commander Duchambon, in the name of the king, a demand to surrender. This Duchambon refused to do. There was some misunderstanding between Pepperrell and Warren before a complete co-operation of their forces was perfected. Late in the afternoon of the 15th day of June, Duchambon sent a flag of truce to Pepperrell's lines, asking for a suspension of hostilities and terms of capitulation. These were agreed to and finally completed on the 16th and on June 17th the provincial troops entered Louisburg at the southwest gate with General Pepperrell and Colonel Bradstreet at the head of the column and the other higher officers in the rear. The French troops were stationed in front of their barracks. Dr. Henry S. Burrage in his *Maine at Louisburg* (supra.) page 42, in describing this scene says:

Salutations were exchanged, and then the French "with their arms, music and standards" marched down to the shore, and were taken on board the transports which were to return them to their native land.

(2) *Ib.* 52.

(3) *Maine at Louisburg*, Burrage, p. 21.



About two thousand of the inhabitants of the city, six hundred and fifty veteran troops, thirteen hundred and ten militia, and the crew of the French war vessel, the *Vigilant*, were transported to France, requiring fourteen ships for their removal.

As Pepperrell viewed the magnitude and strength of the enemy's fortifications, he exclaimed, "The Almighty, of a truth, has been with us."

Directly after the surrender of Louisburg, General Pepperrell gave a banquet to the officers who had so bravely conducted the siege. Some of the gentlemen expressed their apprehension that dinner would be spoiled waiting for the chaplain's long blessing. But for once the parson surprised and pleased them with brevity. When all were ready, Mr. Moody lifted up his hands and eyes to heaven and said:

Lord, the mercies thou hast bestowed, and thy mercies and benefits have been so wonderful, that time is too short to express our sense of thy goodness; we must leave it for the work of eternity. Fill us with gratitude, and bless what is set before us on this occasion of joy, for the sake of Christ our Lord. Amen.

The capture of Louisburg inscribed on its pages a new chapter in the history of the world; a forward step in the progress of American independence was taken and a new name added to the roll of Anglo-Saxon heroes and patriots.

Among the officers and soldiers engaged in this expedition, who were then and later prominent in the public affairs of the District of Maine, were General Samuel Waldo, whose name by reason of the "Waldo Patent," and in other ways, is indissolubly interwoven with our early history; Colonel Jeremiah Moulton, Colonel Dudley Bradstreet, Colonel Arthur Noble, Morris O'Brien, then from Scarboro, and later of Machias, and father of Jeremiah O'Brien, who planned and organized the capture of the British armed cutter, the *Margaretta*, in Machias Bay, June 12, 1775, and the first American to haul down the British flag in a naval battle.

Pepperrell remained at Louisburg until July 4, 1746, when he departed for his home in Kittery. During all the time of his tarry there his duties were arduous, his



responsibilities great, and his trials, discouragements and perplexities many.

The Louisburg affair was a most excellent preparatory course for the great drama of the revolution that fate had in store for them a little more than a quarter of a century later. It was music from the same old fifes and drums used at Louisburg that rallied the patriots at Lexington and Bunker Hill. Its recollection strengthened their confidence and self-reliance and inspired them with a new spirit of nationalism. Statesmen of foresight in other parts of the world realized that a new factor in its affairs had appeared. Mr. Hartwell said, in the House of Commons, in 1775, that the colonists

"took Louisburg from the French single-handed without any European assistance,—as mettled an enterprise as any in our history,—an everlasting memorial to the zeal, courage, and perseverance of the troops of New England."

Yet stubborn stupidity blinded the eyes of royalty in 1776, and the birth of a new nation dedicated to freedom and human rights resulted.

The children of Sir William and Lady Mary (Hirst) Pepperrell were Elizabeth, b. December 29, 1723, and Andrew, b. January 4, 1726. They had two other children who died in infancy. Elizabeth married Nathaniel Sparhawk, May 1, 1742. Their son, William Sparhawk, by the will of his grandfather, Sir William, became heir to his great estate, conditioned that he should change his name to Pepperrell. In pursuance of this his name was changed to Pepperrell by the Legislature of Massachusetts. In October, 1774, fifteen years after the decease of his grandfather he was created a Baronet.<sup>4</sup> He married a daughter of Colonel Isaac Royall of Medford. He was a pronounced royalist and at the beginning of the Revolution (1775) went with his wife to England where he lived until his death in London, December 2, 1816, when the title became extinct.

Andrew Pepperrell, the second child of Sir William, graduated with honors at Harvard College in 1743. A

(4) American Baronets No. 5, p. 150, No. 6, p. 187, No. 8, p. 250. Putnam's Mag. for Sept. 1857, v. X. p. 407.



writer of those times in speaking of him says: "To personal beauty in him were added grace of manners and elegant accomplishments, rarely attained in our hemisphere at that period."

In 1746 he was betrothed to a highly accomplished and beautiful young lady, Miss Hannah Waldo, daughter of General Samuel Waldo, associated with his father in the siege of Louisburg. They had been warm friends for a life-time and their families were on terms of the closest intimacy. The alliance was hailed with joy in both homes. And right here we find ourselves within the realm of romance—romance that has enchantment and yet is strange; where love intertwines with tragedy and all is overshadowed with mystery. For a half century this story seems to have run down through the pages of history in this wise: that the wedding day was appointed; wonderful preparations were made in a style and magnitude never before known in New England. It brought not only the elite from Maine, but distinguished society people from other parts of the colonies as well, for all were delighted to contribute to the happiness of and to do honor to the son and daughter of two of their beloved heroes of Louisburg. That at the last moment before the entire assembly the bride discarded long years of devoted love and blighted the life of her lover by abruptly declining to give her hand in wedlock; and that Andrew, disappointed and heart-broken on the second day, thereafter, dropped dead in the streets of Portsmouth, and that on the third day the wedding party, gathered from far and near for a merry marriage feast, followed his cold remains to the silent tomb of his ancestors for their eternal rest.<sup>5</sup> Usher Parsons wrote the Life of Sir William Pepperell in 1855. In this work the author publishes certain letters as a "vindication" of Miss Waldo. He states that the "Pepperell papers have been scattered to the four winds" and that it was only after much research "that enough have been gathered to set the affair right." Several of these letters, which passed between Sir William and General Waldo, are exceedingly



friendly, expressing mutual hope that the union would be consummated. Nathaniel Sparhawk, in one of his letters, wrote:

The love affair between Andrew Pepperrell and Miss Waldo, now of four years' duration, is still pending, much to the annoyance of both families, as well as trying to the patience of the young lady.<sup>6</sup>

That all of their friends and relatives took a hand in helping on the match seems apparent. Stephen Waldo, a merchant of Boston, and a relative of Waldo, wrote to Andrew:

I hope, my friend, it will not be long before we have the pleasure of seeing you in town to disappoint the enemies as well as to complete the approaching pleasure, which you have in view, in enjoying the society of so charming and desirable a young lady as is Miss Hannah<sup>7</sup>.

It appears that there was much procrastination in the affair to the evident vexation of all their friends. Some, if not all of this was caused by the ill health of Andrew. Parson says:

\* \* \* but a few days before the one appointed for the wedding arrived, Andrew wrote to her that circumstances had occurred which would make it necessary to defer it to another day which he named as more convenient to himself. \* \* \* She returned no answer; the guests from far and near, minister and all, assembled at the appointed place, when she enjoyed the sweet revenge of telling Andrew that she would not marry one who had occasioned her so much mortification, and who could not have that love and friendship for her that was necessary to her happiness.

That it was a bitter disappointment to the two families is proven by these letters. General Waldo wrote Sir William from London:

I was greatly chagrined at the news of my daughter's changing her mind and dismissing your son after the visit you mention, which I was apprised of by her, and concluded the affair would have had the issue I had long expected and desired.

Parsons naively remarks that

The young lady enjoyed more consolation than any of them. In less than six weeks she was led to the altar by Thomas Fluker, Esquire, secretary of the province.

(6) Parsons' *supra*, p. 219.

(7) *Ib.*



From the evidence produced by Parsons that part of the Curwin account<sup>8</sup> relative to Andrew's sudden death in Portsmouth seems to fail. Other writers since Parsons, like William Goold in his "Portland in the Past" seem to concur in the conclusions arrived at by him regarding this episode. And yet we cannot escape the thought that possibly the Honorable Secretary and Miss Waldo, had they so desired, could have related something that might have made it all clearer than it has ever been since the days of their ill-fated betrothal.

Whatever the facts may have been, is there not buried in that musty bit of eighteenth century history, material for a fascinating tale of love and intrigue?

And here we may be pardoned for diverting to the fact that when the first belchings of the American Revolution startled an amazed world, a young Boston rebel was deeply in love with Lucy Fluker, a daughter of this union, much to the regret of her aristocratic parents who were fervent loyalists. It was a case of flagrant disobedience if not of actual elopement, when in defiance of parental authority she persisted in marrying the one who later became the Patriots' hero and Washington's friend, General Henry Knox.

Regarding his grandson who inherited his fortune and title, Cecil Cutts Howard in a brochure, *The Pepperrells of America*, says:

William Pepperrell Sparhawk born in 1746, married Oct. 24, 1767, Elizabeth, daughter of Mary (McIntosh) Royall of Medford, Mass. He became chief heir of his grandfather (Sir William Pepperrell) on condition that, at twenty-one years of age, he should drop the name of Sparhawk and be known as Sir William Pepperrell.

(8) Judge Samuel Curwin, author of *Curwin's Journal and Letters* (*supra*) was of the old New England family of that name and was born in Salem in 1715, and graduated at Harvard in 1735. He was engaged in commercial pursuits and a person of great influence in the colony. He was captain of a company under General Pepperrell at Louisburg. When the war of the Revolution broke out he remained a loyalist and removed to England. He was an intimate friend of the second Sir William Pepperrell, also a loyalist, who fled to England. Thus he must have had first hand knowledge of the Pepperrell family. He was a man of learning and ability as is fully disclosed by his writings. The work above referred to contains, besides the journal and letters, several sketches of Louisburg survivors, and noted loyalists, one of which is "The Pepperrells of Kittery," and in it is this account of Andrew. The material for this book was prepared and edited by George Atkinson Ward, A.M., a well-known historical writer, and published by Leavitt, Trow & Co., New York, and Wiley and Putnam, London, (third edition) in 1845. In view of these facts, it is hardly conceivable that Judge Curwin could have been so much in error as Parsons' version of the matter would indicate; and even if he had been misled it is fully as strange that so careful a writer as Ward should not have discovered the fact.



In 1767, on arriving at his majority, his grandfather's wishes were agreed to and he assumed the title. He has been known as Sir William Second, and also, in the family as "young Sir William." The year before assuming the title, he graduated from Harvard College, and was later a councillor and mandamus councillor. A royalist, he fled to England in 1775, with his wife, children and wife's parents and kindred. His wife died on board ship and was buried at Halifax, N. S., Oct. 8, 1775. "Young Sir William" received a great deal of attention in England and was painted by West, in a large group which represented him as he was when he presented his brother Tories to the king, craving the King's most gracious favor.

Judge Curwin in his work herein referred to says of him:

The fortune of General Pepperrell far exceeded any that had been amassed in New England, and his enterprise and public spirit shed a widespread influence around. He loaned a large sum for the furtherance of the expedition he was destined to command. And notwithstanding that Franklin and other prominent men of the middle and southern provinces pronounced the contemplated siege and attack of Louisburg to be Quixotic, so satisfied was Pepperell of the feasibility of the plan, and that the reduction of that stronghold of the enemy was an object of vast importance, that he willingly hazarded fortune, fame, and life itself, for its accomplishment.

His zeal in the business imparted new life to the people, and he finally succeeded in influencing the co-operation of all the New England governments.

Fortune adhered to him in this, as in all his commercial enterprises, and to the good judgment he displayed, as well as to his example of personal bravery, is the final success of the expedition mainly to be attributed.

The Honorable Everett Pepperrell Wheeler of New York, who has made exhaustive research into the history of Sir William Pepperrell, in a pamphlet published in 1910, entitled "Memorial in support of the nomination of the name of Sir William Pepperrell, to be inscribed in the Hall of Fame for Great Americans," gives a most able and valuable summary of his career and achievements. From this we make the excerpts which follow:

\* \* \* He was the most enterprising and successful colonial merchant and one of the most distinguished colonial statesmen.

He was a skilful and successful colonial general. Under his leadership regiments from the different colonies learned to co-operate against regular troops entrenched behind strong fortifications. The



veterans of Louisburg were the backbone of the New England forces at the beginning of the revolution.

\* \* \* He was a typical American; typical of the time when the exigencies of life were such that a man of talent could not limit himself or his intelligence to one particular occupation, but when the necessities of the situation in which our fathers were placed, compelled him to play many parts, which in a later and more complex civilization would be filled by different individuals.

\* \* \* Jealousy on the part of Governor Shirley kept him from service in the field at that time (1755), but he exerted himself actively to raise troops for the war then going on with the French, and he was entrusted with the command of the forces which guarded the frontiers of Maine and New Hampshire. Just as the war began to be successful, on the sixth day of July, 1759, he died.

\* \* \* He was the most conspicuous figure in America during the war of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years War, and thus achieved a greater international reputation than any American prior to the Revolution. His achievements at Louisburg have been fully referred to. At the beginning of the Seven Years War, he was appointed by the Crown a major-general and was efficient and successful in the work entrusted to him by the Newcastle ministry. But the campaign generally was unfortunate. When Pitt came into power he sent over two efficient generals, Amherst and Wolfe, and gave Pepperrell the chief command in the colonies, appointing him a lieutenant general in the Royal Army.

Had it not been for sickness he would have taken the field and actively shared the glories of Quebec and the capture of Fort Duquesne. The plan of the campaign which led to the overthrow of the French sway in Canada, and prepared the way for the American revolution, was fought according to the plans laid down by Pepperrell.

\* \* \* A fisherman's son, he raised himself to honor and wealth.

Although not bred a lawyer, he presided with ability as a Chief Justice. Although not trained a soldier, he commanded the armies of the colonies with courage, fortitude, foresight and success. No record has ever leaped to light that casts a shadow upon his memory. Just and upright in all his own dealings, he knew how to be generous and merciful to others; fearless and resolute himself, he knew how to encourage the wavering, and stimulate the doubting. He was polite without insincerity, liberal and hospitable without extravagance.

The one controlling purpose of his life was duty. He became in youth a member of the Congregational Church, and continued a devout and consistent adherent to its principles. But he was free from that narrowness and bigotry that disfigure the character of some of the New England colonial leaders. At home and abroad, in the counting-house and in the Legislature, on the bench or in command of the provincial army, he embodied in action the religious conviction that became in youth an essential part—indeed, the foundation of his



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whole character. Perhaps the best evidence of this is that prosperity never made him arrogant, or marred the simplicity and straightforwardness of the man. And thus, to the day of his death, he enjoyed alike the confidence of the Indians in the Maine forests, the British Governors sent to rule the provinces, the merchants of Boston and London, the aristocracy of Beacon street, and his neighbors at Kittery.

He was intimately friendly with Jonathan Edwards and others of that group of intellectuals of New England, of whom Edwards was a leader. His close associates were people of culture and eminence.

In these pages we have only attempted to slightly touch upon some of the principal incidents in the life of this famous son of Maine, beloved by the people of his province and honored and respected by the government of Great Britain.

His military career is an important chapter in the history of the French wars from 1745 to 1758.

He was one of the first, if not the very first, to advocate building a fort on the Penobscot. Subsequent to his death his advice was heeded and Governor Pownal erected the fortification (Fort Pownal) that bore his name and was of immeasurable importance to the settlements of eastern Maine.

His life work as a publicist and military leader was really carrying into effect the same policy—a more vigorous one by the crown against the French—that Governor Phips, another eminent Maine character, was the father of nearly a century before.

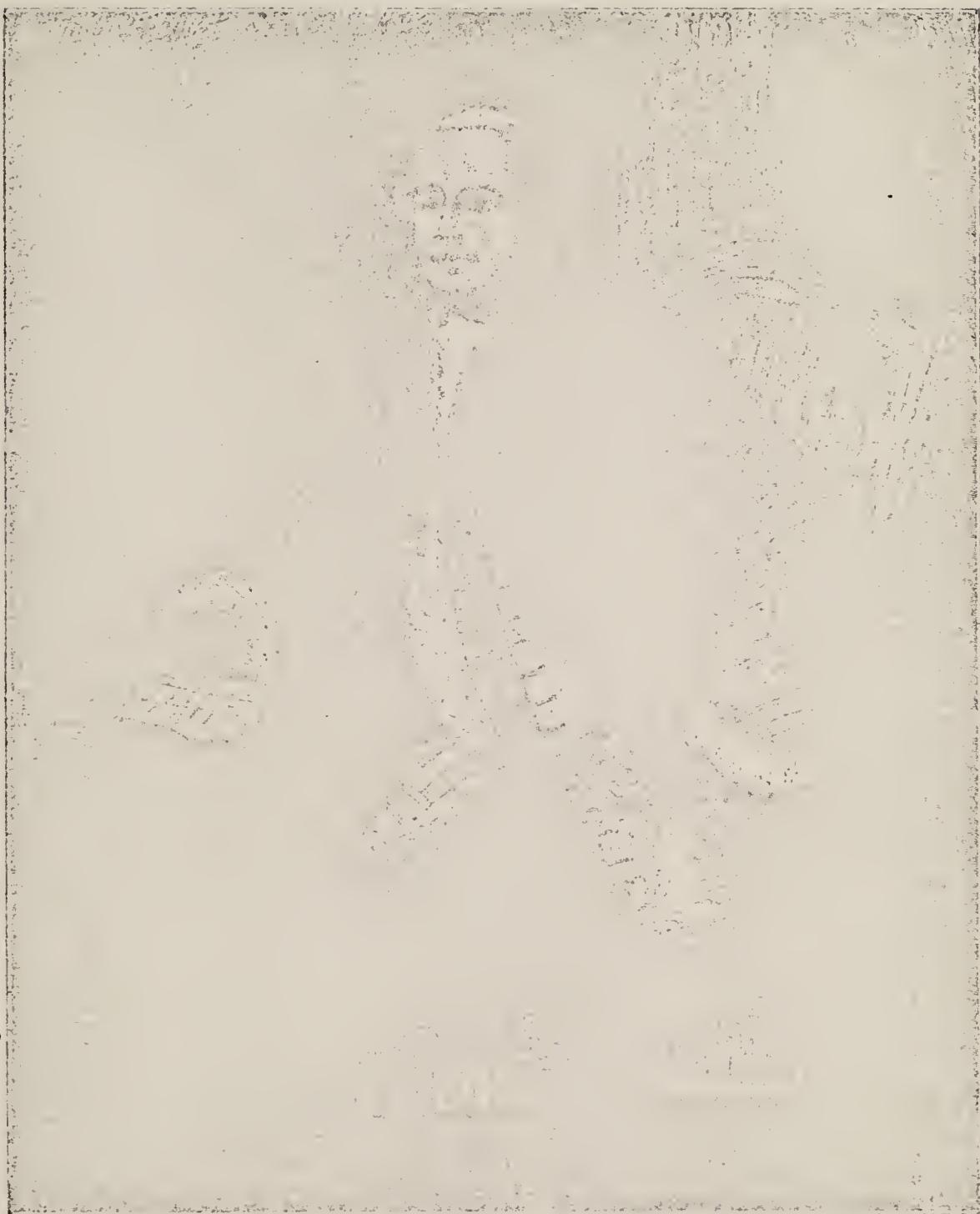
Sir William Pepperrell died at his home in Kittery, July 6, 1759, and Lady Pepperrell died there November 25, 1789. Parsons (*supra*) p. 320 says:

His funeral obsequies were attended by a vast concourse. The drooping flags at half mast on both shores of the Piscataqua, the solemn knell from neighboring churches, the responsive minute-guns from all the batteries, and the mournful rumbling of muffled drums announced that a great man had fallen and was descending to the tomb.



# Sir William Phips





SIR WILLIAM PHIPS



## SIR WILLIAM PHIPS

The title page of the work of Cotton Mather, which is the foundation of very much of the early history of New England, is as follows:

*MAGNALIA CHRISTI AMERICANA;  
THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY  
OF*

*NEW ENGLAND,*

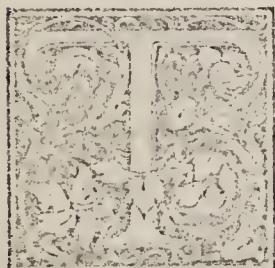
*From its first planting, in the year 1620, unto the year of  
our Lord 1698*

*IN SEVEN BOOKS*

*By the*

*REVEREND AND LEARNED COTTON MATHER,  
D.D.F.R.S.*

*And Pastor of the North Church in Boston, New England.*



THE first edition was published in London in the year 1702, in a volume of seven hundred and eighty-eight pages. In 1852 this was republished by Silas Andrus in Hartford, with a preface and "occasional notes by the Reverend Thomas Robbins, D.D." and again published by Silas Andrus & Son in 1853.

It is a civil and ecclesiastical history of the earliest English settlements and plantations in New England, hence it is one of the original sources for all who desire to study men and events of importance in that period. The author has been accused of credulity and bigotry and such accusations cannot be well denied.

He was a fiery and brilliant product of the times in which he lived and wrought; a leader in the days of credulity and bigotry, and yet with all of his prejudices and conceit he was one of the founders of American literature.

The "Magnalia" is a curious blending of historical facts, the peculiar sectarian views of the Puritans, citations from the Bible and quotations from Greek and Roman classics and from nearly all the great characters in ancient history. Yet the authenticity of his historical data, when divested



of religious exaggerations, has ever been and will doubtless always remain a standard authority. It is almost wholly to this work that one must resort to learn of the life of one of Maine's most famous and worthy sons, for Cotton Mather was the only one of the early writers who wrote fully regarding him. He had at hand more facts pertaining to him than had anyone else for he and his father, Increase Mather, were his contemporaries.

After devoting nearly five hundred words to citing examples of men of fame in the Roman Empire, and other parts of the world who had risen to great heights from obscurity and small beginnings, the author introduces Sir William Phips in this manner:

For my reader now being satisfied that a person being obscure in his original is not always a just prejudice to an expectation of considerable matters from him, I shall now inform him that this our Phips was born February 2, A.D. 1650, at a despicable plantation on the river Kennebec, and almost the furthest village of the eastern settlements of New England.<sup>1</sup>

His birthplace is on a point of land in the southern part of the town of Woolwich near a little bay, called "Phips' Bay" and was not in any sense a "despicable" place.

He was the son of James Phips and one of the youngest of twenty-six children. James came early to New England from Bristol, England.

Mather refers to the family in this wise:

His fruitful mother yet living had no less than twenty-six children, whereof twenty-one were sons; but equivalent to them all was William, one of the youngest, whom his father dying left with his mother "keeping sheep in the wilderness" until he was eighteen years old.

During his boyhood days, struggling with his widowed mother for existence, he was employed much of the time by sheep raisers and writers have frequently alluded to him as "the Shepherd boy of Woolwich."<sup>2</sup>

(1) Mather's *Magnalia* p. 167.

(2) Ib 2.

"A Manuscript Account of Pemaquid" by Judge Groton (collections Me. Hist. Soc. vol. 2, p. 239) says: "James Phips, father of Sir William Phips, settled here (Pemaquid) about the year 1638, but afterwards removed to the banks of the Kennebec, in the town of Woolwich."



But few facts are attainable regarding him as a youth except that he desired to learn the trade of ship building and when nineteen years of age he served an apprenticeship of three or four years with a ship carpenter, and became master of the trade.

At the age of twenty-two he removed to Boston where he worked in a ship yard for one year.

At his home on the coast of Maine he had no school privileges and did not learn to read and write until his first year in Boston, and Mather says:

—by a laudable deportment, he so recommended himself that he married a young gentlewoman of good repute, who was the widow of one Mr. John Hall, a well-bred merchant, but the daughter of one Captain Roger Spencer, a person of good fashion—.<sup>3</sup>

He acquired learning by his own efforts and became a student of what books were accessible in the town of Boston.

As his mental growth developed, his aspirations took a wider range and his ambition was to build a ship, own it and command it himself.

He would frequently tell the gentlewoman his wife that he should be the captain of a King's ship; that he should come to have command of better men than he was now accounted himself; and that he should be owner of a fair brick house in the Green lane of North Boston.<sup>4</sup>

Soon after his marriage he entered into what was probably a partnership with some Boston men to build a ship near his birthplace on the Maine coast, Mather saying that

—he indented with several persons in Boston to build them a ship at Sheeps-coat River, two or three leagues eastward of the Kennebec.

Ill fortune was his first experience in this enterprise, for when the vessel was completed and he was about to load her with lumber the Indians made a murderous assault upon the inhabitants, and to preserve their lives he took them on board and gave them a free passage to Boston.<sup>5</sup>

(3) Ib 167.

(4) Ib 168.

(5) Ib 168.



He was a doer as well as a dreamer and possessed a bold and adventuresome spirit.

After arriving at Boston with his load of refugees, he learned from some ship captains in that port of a Spanish wreck on the coast of the Bahamas, and that in it were many valuables and large quantities of gold and silver.

Boston friends had faith in him even if having mental reservations about the truth of this "sailor's yarn" that Phips had told them. So, after some deliberation, he was financed to an extent sufficient to enable him to sail his ship to the Bahamas in search of buried treasures. His trip to the Bahamas, the explorations he made and the evidence that he found convinced him that if properly equipped he could rescue this property lost in the ocean depths.

Instead of returning to his home, he sailed directly to England and presented the matter to his government. His earnestness and intelligence, his apparent honesty, determination and persuasive qualities finally won at White Hall. In the year 1683 he became captain of a King's Ship, *Algier Rose*, a frigate of eighteen guns and ninety-five men.

This voyage, however, was not successful. The crew mutinied once or twice, imperiling his life, and after experiencing numerous hardships and dangers he again returned to England and was equipped with another ship.

He cast anchor at a reef of shoals a few leagues to the northward of Port de la Plata, upon Hispaniola, the supposed place of the lost wreck. While the men were engaged in the work of exploration a sea feather attracted attention. One of the Indian divers was ordered to investigate. The diver reported that the wreckage and a number of great guns were in the waters beneath them. Then the real work of search for and recovery of treasures began. It resulted in securing thirty-two tons of silver, much gold, pearls and jewels.

Captain Phips' crew had been hired on seamen's per diem wages. They had evidently not been informed of the real purpose of the expedition and when suddenly apprised of it and viewing the enormous amount of wealth within their reach, their astonishment may easily be imagined.



Neither is it surprising that a vicious impulse to become possessed of this marvelous prize possessed and overwhelmed them.

Mather says Phips

used all the obliging arts imaginable to make his men true unto him, especially by assuring them that besides their wages they should have ample requitals made unto them, which if the rest of his employers would not agree unto, he would himself distribute his own share among them.<sup>6</sup>

When he returned to England in 1687 he carried with him treasure to the value of 300,000 pounds sterling. And yet when he had accounted and turned over to his employers their share, he had dealt so generously in sharing with his men that only sixteen thousand pounds belonged to him. He was the hero of the hour. The Duke of Albemarle "made unto his wife, whom he never saw, the present of a golden cup, near a thousand pounds in value."

King James II, in consideration of the skill, energy and enterprise displayed in this undertaking conferred on him the honor of knighthood.

Before he returned home he was made High Sheriff of New England.

He did not become a member of any church until March 23, 1690, when he joined the North Congregational Church in Boston of which Cotton Mather was pastor. During the remainder of his life he was active in its affairs.

On April 28, 1690, he was at the head of a naval force sent out by the Massachusetts Bay Colony to capture Port Royal. He arrived there May 11, and in a few days thereafter the fort was surrendered to him and he took possession of Nova Scotia, then held by the French, for the English Crown, and administered to the inhabitants an oath of allegiance to King William and Queen Mary. But it was the increasing power of Canada that the Colony was the most concerned about and desired to conquer.

Accordingly Phips was again placed in command of a fleet to capture Quebec, and sailed from Boston August 9, 1690.

(6) Ib 173.



This enterprise was not successful, but returned without serious loss of lives.

This failure was not entirely unexpected, as the colonists were not well prepared for it. Later he commanded another and better equipped expedition to Quebec which also failed.

Under King Charles I the Pilgrims obtained a patent from the Virginia Company and (1620) sailed for the new world when adverse winds changed their course and they finally landed on Plymouth Rock, and then and there began the making of a new nation.

They obtained a patent (1621-22) from the Council for New England, partly at least through the influence of Sir Ferdinando Gorges who had already made great efforts in colonization on the coast of Maine.

Six years later they applied to the king for a royal charter which was obtained.

At first it was the intention of the government to retain possession of this charter, but later (1629) its custody was placed in the hands of the colonists. There was some serious contention over this. The colonists contended that their charter made them a corporation on the place, while some eminent English jurist held that the whole structure of the charter pre-supposed its residence to be in England.

To understand more fully the origin of the trouble which subsequently arose between the colony and the crown, it may be well to state that the Puritan leaders in America who were men of ability and intellectual power from the first contended

that their charter created a corporation of, but not necessarily within England; that the powers of government which it granted were full and absolute, admitting of no appeal; that they held this not by commission, but by free donation; that they were not even subject to the laws of England, though by the terms of their charter they were to enact no contrary laws; that parliament could not interfere to countermand their orders and judgments, nor could it set over them a general governor without their consent; that, like Normandy, Gascoigne, Burgundy, Flanders, and the Hanse Towns of Germany, so were they "independent in respect of government;" yet a limited allegiance to the mother country was acknowledged, because their commonwealth was founded upon the state, held its lands by an English tenure, and depended upon England for protection, advice,



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and the "continuance of naturalization and free liegance of themselves and posterity.<sup>7</sup>

These views were more democratic than were acceptable to Charles I and Charles II, whose legal advisors looked upon the colony solely as a trading corporation subject to the narrow construction of the common law. The position of the Puritan statesman was, however, held valid and adopted by the Long Parliament. But each starting with fundamental principles so divergent, it is not strange that they never harmonized.

The colonists were in considerable conflict with the home government from about 1635 until the revolution in England (1688) when William and Mary became its rulers.

Cromwell, while in sympathy with and disposed to concede to them nearly everything that they claimed as their rights, was engaged in tempestuous affairs in England and had but little time to attend to colonial matters.

Their persecution and at times barbarous treatment of the Quakers, and other intolerant acts, furnished the government with some ground for its opposition to and unfair treatment of the Massachusetts and Plymouth colonies, compelling them to surrender their charters. This had bred much ill feeling and rebellion was already brewing when in 1680 Sir Edmund Andros was thrust upon them as governor by the king.

In 1663, Charles II had granted by patent to his brother the Duke of York, and afterwards King James II, certain territory and dominion in New England which included the colonies of Massachusetts, New Plymouth and the provinces of Maine and New Hampshire and the Narraganset country. Andros had then acted as an agent for the Duke of York and had charge of his military forces in New York.

Their opinion of him was unfavorable if not prejudicial. From first to last he was in trouble with the people whom he undertook to govern. One of his first contentions was that the title to all of the lands, including those taken and occupied by the settlers or purchased from the Indians, was

(7) Barry's History of Massachusetts, pp. 177-78. The author also cites Winthrop's Journal and Hutchinson.



in the crown. His attempted enforcement of this doctrine was a prolific breeder of disturbance and turmoil and ended in revolution.

The story of this rebellion need not be told here, but is of profound interest to one studying the progress of freedom in America. Suffice it to say that on the morning of April 18, in the year 1689, the people of the town of Boston armed themselves and with great deliberation, arrested and imprisoned their governor and all the members of his council, his agents, officers and assistants. This was accomplished without firing a single shot, or the loss of a drop of blood. It was nothing less than a mob although a solemn and pious one.

After having overturned their government, they with equal deliberation prayerfully proceeded to set up a new one in its place, which was accomplished in a few days thereafter.

Soon after his second attempt to capture Quebec, Phips hastened to England to impress upon the king, if possible, the importance of subduing Canada. He believed it to be the greatest service that could be done for New England, or for the crown of England, in America. The king received him with much courtesy and was favorably disposed towards the project, Mather observing that "the king did give him liberty of access unto him, whenever he desired it." But this was in the fated year of 1688 and before Phips could conclude any arrangements with King James for this purpose, the people of his realm had arisen in their wrath, dragged him from his throne and driven him across the English Channel into France.

At this time the Reverend Increase Mather was in England, having been sent there with other agents of the colonists for the purpose of seeking the full restoration of their early charter rights and privileges, of course thus far without avail.

As soon as William and Mary were enthroned and order restored, Mather procured the assistance of Phips in renewed efforts to effect a settlement of all colonial differences with the government.



King William differed somewhat with the New England representatives. Under his direction his attorneys drew a charter which virtually created a new province under the name of the Province of Massachusetts Bay. By its terms the territories of Massachusetts, Plymouth and Maine were united into one jurisdiction. It provided for a governor, deputy governor and a secretary appointed by the king, and twenty-eight councillors chosen by the people.

At first Mather vigorously opposed this new charter, as it took from his people their former privilege of electing their own governor and contained other radical changes.

Sir Henry Ashurst was an Englishman of influence who had long been a loyal friend to the colonies. Very soon after the king had submitted this document to the New England agents, he and Phips and most of the others interested decided that this charter was, upon the whole, much more desirable for the people than were the old charters, and better adapted to the new conditions which had developed since their surrender. Mather was persuaded to agree to it. Undoubtedly one diplomatic act of the king in asking Mather to nominate officers for him to appoint under the new charter had a soothing effect and aided in bringing about the happy result. Anyhow, it appears that he shortly afterwards assembled his associates then in London and organized a council-board who at once nominated Sir William Phips as their candidate for governor.

He lost no time in appearing before his majesty, having been introduced by the Earl of Nottingham. His report and nominating speech to the king was as follows:

Sir: I do, in the behalf of New England, most humbly thank Your Majesty, in that you have been pleased by a Charter to restore English Liberties unto them, to confirm them in their properties, and to grant them some peculiar privileges. I doubt not, but that your subjects there will demean themselves with that dutiful affection and loyalty to Your Majesty, as that you will see cause to enlarge your royal favours towards them. And I do most humbly thank Your Majesty in that you have been pleased to give unto those that are concerned for New England to nominate their Governour.

Sir William Phips has been accordingly nominated by us at the Council-Board. He hath done a good service for the crown, by en-



larging your dominions, and deducing Nova Scotia to your obedience. I know that he will faithfully serve Your Majesty to the utmost of his capacity; and if your Majesty shall think fit to confirm him in that place, it will be a further obligation on your subjects there.<sup>8</sup>

Cotton Mather dilates upon this occurrence as follows:

When Titus Flaminus had freed the poor Grecians from the bondage which had long oppressed them, and the herald proclaimed among them the articles of their freedom, they cried out, "A saviour! a saviour!" With such loud acclamations, that the very birds fell down from heaven astonished at the cry. Truly, when Mr. Mather brought with him unto the poor New-Englanders, not only a charter, which though in divers points wanting what both he and they had wished for, yet forever delivers them from oppressions on their Christian and English liberties, or their ancient possessions, wherein ruining writs of intrusion had begun to invade them all, but also a GOVERN-OUR who might call New England his own country, and who was above most men in it, full of affection to the interests of his country; the sensible part of the people then caused the sense of the salutations thus brought them to reach as far as heaven itself. The various little humours then working among the people, did not hinder the great and general court of the province to appoint a day of solemn THANKSGIVING to Almighty God, for "granting" (as the printed order expressed it) "a safe arrival to His Excellency our Governour, and the Reverend Mr. Increase Mather, who have industriously endeavored the service of this people, and have brought over with them a settlement of government, in which their Majesties have graciously given us distinguishing marks of their royal favour and goodness."

And as the obliged people thus gave thanks unto the God of heaven, so they sent an address of thanks unto their Majesties, with other letters of thanks unto some chief ministers of state, for the favourable aspect herein cast upon the province.<sup>9</sup>

It was to such a shattered colonial government, where turmoil and disturbance had for many years been paramount with the people, that Phips was appointed to rule over and direct its destinies.

The Province charter of 1692, was a far different instrument from the colonial charter of 1629. The new governor was to reorganize what was almost a wreck. Where envy and discord had abounded, he was to restore peace and good order. He must do it with what was practically a new form of government that had been forced

(8) *Magnalia* p. 201.

(9) *Ib* 202.



upon its inhabitants, that changed and in some important ways lessened their powers and radically readjusted the entire foundations and objects of the body politic.

To add to all of his other perplexities, he found that by reason of the internal strife of the colonists they had neglected to protect the settlers in the province of Maine from the ravages of the Indians, and were themselves involved in quite a lively warfare with their own savages.

He decided to immediately improve the situation in Maine, and Mather says:

Wherefore Governor Phips took the first opportunity to raise an army, with which he traveled in person, unto East-Country, to find out and cut off the barbarous enemy, which had continued for near four years together making horrible havoc on the plantations that lay along the northern frontiers of New England; and having pursued those worse than Seythian wolves till they could be no longer followed, he did with a very laudable skill, and unusual speed, and with less cost unto the crown than perhaps ever such a thing was done in the world, erect a strong fort at Pemaquid.<sup>10</sup>

Then he was also confronted with a new and unprecedented condition that was full of difficulties with no light of past experience to guide him. Following their own interpretation of the Bible, the theology of the Puritans had for centuries taught them that witchcraft did then, always had and always would exist in the world. It was heresy to doubt it. To deny its truth would call down the wrath of God upon their heads.

And so when Phips became governor he found a part of the citizens of his commonwealth solemnly engaged in hanging neighbors and friends for riding on broom-sticks in the night time, being possessed of devils, and practicing "detestable conjurations with sieves, and keys and pease and nails, and horse-shoes."

Thus Sir William arrived, as stated by Hutchinson,

at the beginning of as strange an infatuation as any people were ever obsessed of; a considerable number of innocent persons were sacrificed to the distempered imagination, or perhaps wicked hearts of such as pretended to be bewitched.<sup>11</sup>

(10) Ib 214.

(11) Thomas Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts (1795) V. 1, p. 367.



His connection with the witchcraft situation has for two and a quarter centuries been both praised and condemned by students of New England history.

After the rebellious colonies had turned Andros' government upside down and erected what was known as a "provisional government" without any authority whatever, they had held courts as formerly and had tried and convicted witches. When Phips arrived upon the scene their prisons and jails were overcrowded with imprisoned men and women accused of witchcraft. The new charter was then in force and it empowered the General Court to establish judicatories and courts of record; the judges to be appointed by the governor. No meeting of the general court could be held for several months. The prisoners were demanding trial as their right. An emergency existed. Following English precedents the governor issued a commission for a court of Oyer and Terminer and appointed justices to try the witchcraft cases.

Phips had fallen in with Increase Mather in London where they had renewed their acquaintance and became close friends. Mather had in a way made him governor, and together they had brought home a charter that the people had been struggling for for many years. Witchcraft was a part of their religious creed. This belief among the people was waning, but they knew with what intensity the Mathers yet adhered to it. And the Mathers too were wily and astute politicians. It was felt among many that the governor was influenced by them. In the language of today Increase Mather was looked upon as the "boss" of a powerful political and theological machine, and Phips was suspected of being a part of it.

To add to the other unfortunate conditions, Phips hurriedly went to Maine which was a duty that he could not longer delay. The distressed settlers along these coasts and bays were on the brink of utter ruin and extermination at the hands of the savages. This expedition saved these settlements, but while these were being saved, at home they were violently fighting Satan by trying, convicting and hanging men and women for being children of the devil.



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He was absent three months and during the time much evil had been done. These are briefly the grounds upon which those who have blamed Phips have rested their case. While he was away, the tide in public sentiment was turning against the pro-witchcrafters. Leaders among Puritans who had long been jealous of the power that the Mathers wielded over the people, even though they may not have become sincere converts to the progressive ideas regarding witchcraft, readily realized that it was at least "good politics" to join the liberals.

On the other hand, it is an historical fact that Governor Phips immediately upon his return suspended the court, freed the prisoners and pardoned all who were left alive and suspected of being possessed of devils. This cannot be gainsaid. His critics' only reply is that he was not sincere in his position. It is now impossible for any but an infinite mind to determine what was in the heart of a human being two hundred and twenty-seven years ago. Hence we are inclined to give good intentions the benefit of the doubt. And after quite a careful study of what facts are now attainable we believe they sustain this view.

It is almost paradoxical to apply the words "liberal minded" to any of the forefathers of those days of darkness. And yet there is much to be said in favor of Phips in this regard. Cotton Mather speaks several times of his belief in "liberty of conscience" which was quite radical at that time, and other things which hint of a glimmer of light in this direction. He was never popular with many of the Puritan leaders other than the Mathers, which fact may also be reckoned in his favor, as his friendship for them was apparently based more upon personal than political or religious ties.

The "Salem witchcraft," so called, is a picture disgraceful and revolting when viewed from any angle whatsoever. All of the grim virtues of the Puritans, and they were many, can never efface the blackness of this inhuman and abhorrent affair from New England's page of history. It is a woful demonstration as to what depths of degradation and insane cruelty an unbridled adherence to religious fanaticism may lead the human mind into.



The Mathers were among the ablest exponents of the doctrine of witchcraft and defenders of the righteousness of punishing it by death. It is, therefore, interesting to read Cotton Mather's historical account of the proceedings of his friend Phips in ending these accursed doings. When he arrives at this period in the life of Phips, he devotes several pages in attempting to establish the truth of witchcraft. He begins by saying:

Now, the arrival of Sir William Phips to the government of New England, was at a time when a governour would have had occasion for all the skill in sorcery that was ever necessary to a Jewish Councillor; a time when scores of poor people had newly fallen under a prodigious possession of devils, which it was then generally thought had been by witchcrafts introduced. It is to be confessed and bewailed, that many inhabitants of New England, and young people especially, had been led away with little sorceries, wherein they "did secretly those things that were not right against the Lord their God"—<sup>12</sup>

and further on he says:

Flashy people may burlesque these things, but when hundreds of the most sober people in a country where they have as much mother-wit certainly as the rest of mankind, know them to be true, nothing but the absurd and forward spirit of Sadducism can question them. I have not yet mentioned so much as one thing that will not be justified, if it be required by the oaths of more considerate persons than any that can ridicule these odd phenomena.<sup>13</sup>

He seems intent upon finding some way to excuse and exonerate the governor for doing the noblest act of his life. And he finally seems compelled to say this much:

Sir William Phips now beheld such deamons hideously scattering fire about the country, in the exasperations which the minds of men were on these things rising unto; and therefore when he had well canvased a cause, which perhaps might have puzzled the wisdom of the wisest men on earth to have managed, without any error in their administrations, he thought, if it would be any error at all, it would certainly be the safest for him to put a stop unto all future prosecutions as far as it lay in him to do it.<sup>14</sup>

For the performance of this duty, the queen of England, as Mather says, wrote him "those gracious letters." She

(12) Mather 205.

(13) Ib 207.

(14) Ib 212



commended his conduct and thanked him for it in the name of humanity.

His administration of colonial affairs proved of great benefit to the struggling settlers on the coast of Maine whose sufferings and destitution had been overlooked and sadly neglected under the rule of Andros.

He fostered trade and industries among Maine people and especially encouraged shipping. He has been called by writers the founder of American ship building.

He was full of energy and traveled into every portion of the colony to study the conditions of the people, to understand their needs and devise means for their relief and assistance. Regardless of the opposition which he encountered, we believe that he stands out conspicuously in the annals of those times as a personage of high integrity, unblemished honor, lofty purposes and a constant desire to promote the welfare of the people.

All writers have generally agreed that he was the first public man in New England to see clearly that a mere defensive policy against France and against their Indian allies was useless; that if New England was to be properly defended she must be defended, not on the Kennebec, but on the St. Lawrence. Till that policy could be carried out the best plan was to threaten the enemy and hold him in check by a line of outposts.<sup>15</sup> In pursuance of this policy he established two forts, one at Pemaquid and one near the mouth of the Saco.<sup>16</sup>

In a manuscript account of Pemaquid (*supra*) it is stated that "the principal fort was built by Sir William Phips, when Governor of Massachusetts; in 1692, accompanied by Maj. Church, he proceeded with a force of 450 men to Pemaquid, and laid the foundations of this fort, which, in the language of an old writer, 'was the finest thing in these parts of America'."

From that time on the colonies were more and more assertive in their demands that the English government should better protect them from the French menace. This spirit springing from the patriotism and foresight of Sir

(15) English Colonies in America, Doyle V. 2 p. 314.

(16) *Ib* 313.



William Phips grew with the recurring events until such patriots as Sir William Pepperell, General Samuel Waldo and their compeers a half century later enforced its edicts at Louisburg and in the French wars. And this was in spite of England's continuous diplomatic folly and an unpardonable lack of interest on their part in American affairs. In this way the spirit of nationalism and a desire for independence grew—the manifest indifference of England to the protection of her colonies weakening the ties that bound them—until its fruition was complete at Lexington and Bunker Hill.

Some writers have belittled him as rough, uncouth and irritable in his manners and intercourse with men. Two authors, John Gorham Palfrey and J. A. Doyle, M. A., and Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, have each produced valuable works on New England history, both the result of careful research. The former says of him: "Sir William though rough enough at times, had powers of personal attraction."<sup>17</sup>

The latter observes that "the rough, hot-tempered, self-made seaman was to such predecessors as Winthrop, or even Bradstreet, what Andrew Jackson was to the younger Adams."<sup>18</sup>

That Phips could have served as governor in such stormy times as fell to his lot, without encountering opposition, is hardly conceivable. This came, we believe, largely from those envious of him and who were plotting and intriguing against him.

He interfered, as it has been said, in a summary fashion with one Brenton, collector of customs at Boston. This resulted in an altercation between them. Doyle believes that "Phips had influential enemies in England ready to make the most of his errors and his unpopularity." It finally resulted in a petition to the king to have him removed. As soon as this occurred he went to England and while making ready to appear before the king in answer to the

(17) Palfrey's History of New England during the Stuart Dynasty, V. 3.

(18) English Colonies in America, Doyle V. 2, p. 294.



charges, he was taken suddenly ill and died in London. Mather says he left Boston November 17, 1694, and died in London February 18, 1695.

Portraitures of his personal appearance have been drawn by numerous writers since he was the shepherd boy of Woolwich. We apprehend, however, that all have been suggested by the description of Mather, his pastor and intimate friend. This is what he said:

Reader, 'tis time for us to view a little more to the life, the picture of the person, the actions of whose life we have hitherto been looking upon. Know then, that for his exterior, he was one tall, beyond the common set of men, and thick as well as tall, and strong as well as thick; he was, in all respects, exceedingly robust, and able to conquer such difficulties of diet and of travel, as would have killed most men alive; nor did the fat, whereto he grew very much in his later years, take away the vigour of his motions.

He was well set, and he was therewithal of a very comely, though a very manly countenance; a countenance where any true skill in physiognomy would have read the character of a generous mind. Wherefore passing to his interior, the very first thing which offered itself unto observation, was a most incomparable generosity.<sup>19</sup>

At the time of his death, the president of Harvard University delivered "a funeral oration" which Mather quotes as follows:

This province is beheaded, and lyes, a bleeding. A GOVERNOUR is taken away, who was a merciful man; some think too merciful; and if so, 'tis best erring on that hand; and a righteous man; who, when he had great opportunities of gaining by injustice, did refuse to do so.

He was a known friend unto the best interests and unto the Churches of God; not ashamed of owning them. No: how often have I heard him expressing his desires to be an instrument of good unto them! He was a zealous lover of hs country, if any man in the world were so: he exposed himself to serve it; he ventured his life to save it: in that, a true Nehemiah, a governour that "sought the welfare of his people."

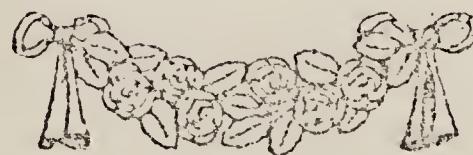
He was one who did not seek to have the government cast upon him: no, but instead thereof, to my knowledge, he did several times petition the King that this people might always enjoy the 'great privilege of chusing their own governour: and I heard him express his desires that it might be so to several of the chief ministers of state in the Court of England.

(19) Mather (Supra) 217.



He is now dead, and not capable of being flattered; but this I must testifie concerning him, that though by the province of God I have been with him at home and abroad, near at home and afar off, by land and by sea, I never saw him do any evil action, or heard him speak anything unbecoming a Christian.

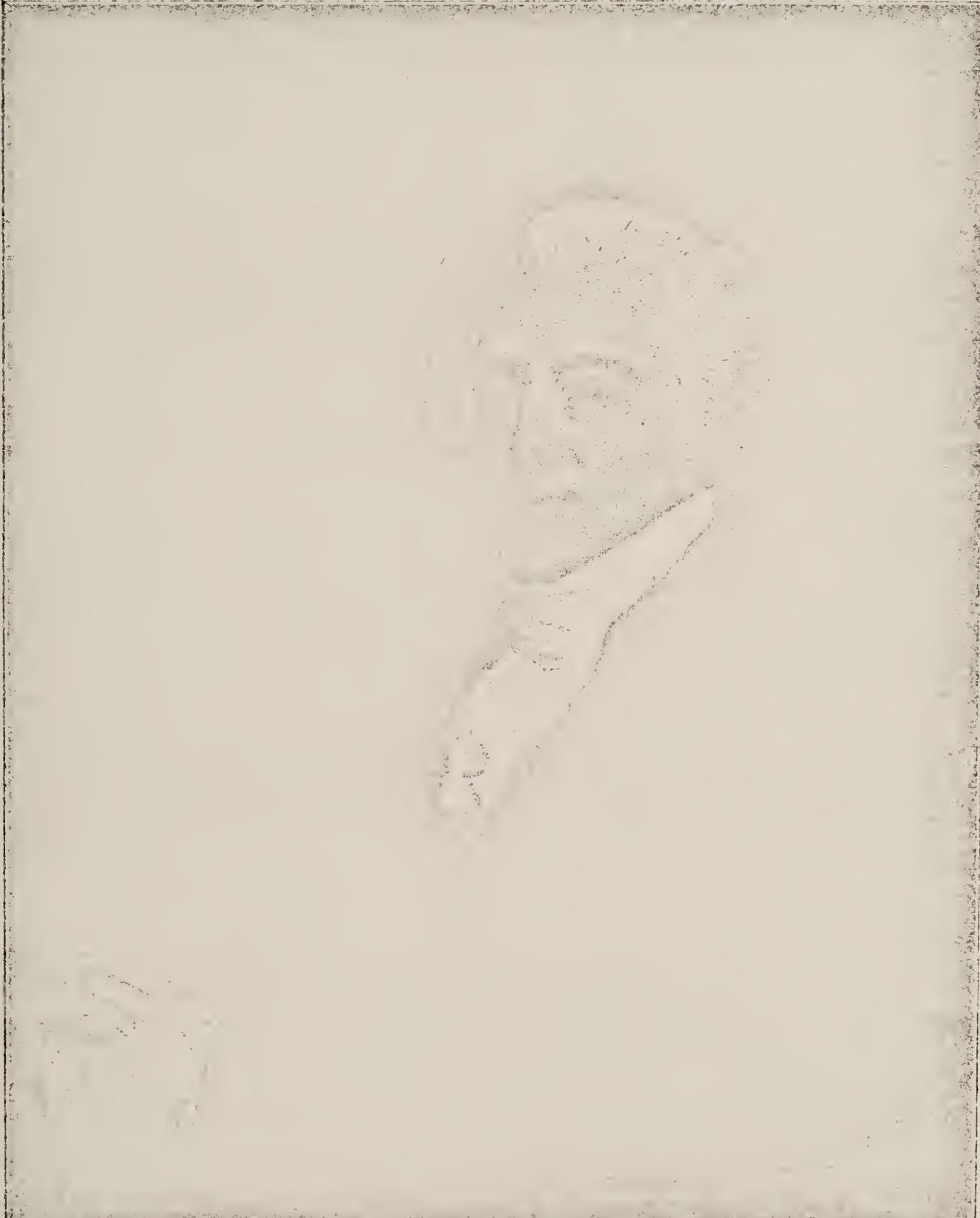
The circumstances of his death seem to intimate the anger of God, in that he was 'in the midst of his days' removed; and I know (though few did) that he had great purposes in his heart, which probably would have taken effect, if he had lived a few months longer, to the great advantage of this province; but now he is gone, there is not a man living in the world capaciated for those undertakings; New England knows not yet what they have lost!





James Sullivan

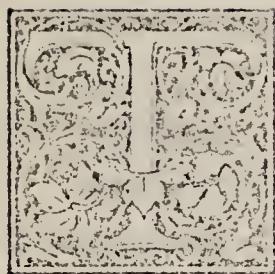




JAMES SULLIVAN



## JAMES SULLIVAN



HERE appears to be ample authority to substantiate the claim that the Sullivans of Maine descended from the O'Sullivans of ancient Ireland. They were a powerful sept, who dwelt in the southerly part of Ireland and are now extensively multiplied on both sides of the Atlantic. Many of them have acquired fame in all fields of American activities. In common with other Milesian families, they trace their origin to a remote period in Irish history. The bards and chieftains of the ancient Irish preserved their national annals from the beginning of organized government under the sons of Heber down to the days of anarchy and confusion resulting from English invasion.

Irish historians assert that it is a well authenticated fact that under Queen Elizabeth, one measure adopted for the more perfect subjection of Ireland was an order to collect from the national and private repositories these records, that by gradually weakening, through their destruction, the spirit of clanship, the land might become an easier prey to the spoiler.

Fortunately, however, this order was only partially obeyed and in many of the ancient chronicles, or psalters which escaped this authorized vandalism, frequent mention is made of the O'Sullivans and their chieftains. For centuries prior to 1170 when the English invasion first began upon its shores, Ireland had been as highly civilized as any part of western Europe. During those times and to a more recent date the O'Sullivans, who were hereditary princes, possessed large tracts of lands in the Province of Munster, and along the shores of the Bay of Bantry and around the beautiful and celebrated Lakes of Killarney. Their chieftains exercised an independent sovereignty and their domains for a long time remaining unmolested by the invaders they lived more peaceful lives than some of the neighboring clans.

But the power of the conquerors increased with each successive century until the brave O'Sullivans early in the



seventeenth century were with the rest of the Irish nation prostrated by ruin and devastation. To follow the vicissitudes of this once powerful clan to the time when John Sullivan left Limerick in Ireland and sailed for America would be a recital of one of the darkest chapters in the history of Great Britain. This was in the year 1723. Exactly what his destination was is not now known. The ship in which he sailed was driven by adverse winds on to the Maine coast and he landed in York.

On this stormy voyage was the beginning of an interesting romance. On the vessel was a pretty and attractive child named Margery Brown, then only nine years of age. The circumstances of her parents emigrating to America may never be known as it appears that they were lost at sea.

John Sullivan, when far advanced in years, wrote out and left with his family the following statement:

I am the son of Major Philip O'Sullivan, of Ardea, in the county of Kerry. His father was Owen O'Sullivan, original descendant from the second son of Daniel O'Sullivan, called lord of Bearehaven. He married Mary, daughter of Colonel Owen McSweeney of Musgrey, and sister to Captain Edmond McSweeney, a noted man for anecdotes and witty sayings. I have heard that my grandfather had four countesses for his mother and grandmothers. How true it was, or who they were, I know not. My father died of an ulcer raised in his breast occasioned by a wound he received in France, in a duel with a French officer. They were all a short-lived family; they either died in their bloom, or went out of the country. I never heard that any of the men-kind arrived at sixty, and do not remember but one alive when I left home. My mother's name was Joan McCarthy, daughter of Dermot McCarthy of Killoween. She had three brothers and one sister. Her mother's name I forget, but that she was daughter to McCarthy Reagh, of Carbery. Her oldest brother, Col. Florence, alias McFinnin, and his two brothers, Captain Charles and Captain Owen, went in the defence of the nation against Orange. Owen was killed in the battle of Aughrim. Florence had a son, who retains the title of McFinnin. Charles I just remember. He had a charge of powder in his face at the siege of Cork. He left two sons, Derby and Owen. Derby married with Ellena Sullivan, of the Sullivans of Bannane. His brother Owen married Honora Mahony, daughter of Dennis Mahony, of Drommore, in the barony of Dunkertron, and also died in the prime of life, much lamented. They were short-lived on both sides; but the brevity of their lives, to my great



grief and sorrow, is added to the length of mine. My mother's sister was married to Dermod, eldest son of Daniel O'Sullivan, lord of Dunkerron. Her son Cornelius, as I understand, was with the Pretender in Scotland, in the year 1745. This is all that I can say about my origin.

It is a well authenticated tradition that he left his home by reason of his mother violently opposing his union with a certain young lady that he was deeply attached to.

Although his mother was a woman of wealth and high standing in Limerick he was nearly penniless when he left home and entered into an agreement with the master of the vessel to work for him after his arrival to pay his passage to America. Unaccustomed to labor he applied to Parson Moody, of York, whom he had been informed was a man of benevolence, for aid. The interview resulted in his obtaining a loan of money from Moody and canceling his obligation to the captain.

John was well educated and under the advice of Parson Moody and some of his friends he opened a school at Berwick and became a successful teacher in York County. He sympathized with his little friend, Margery, who had been indentured in accordance with the colonial custom of providing for distressed children. As soon as his earnings would permit he redeemed her from indenture and adopted her and brought her up and educated her as his own child. When she had reached the period of maidenhood she is said to have possessed unusual charms and attractions.

One day, while drawing water with the old well-sweep, a young man, clad in city attire, came by and engaged her in conversation. Fascinated by her charms, he then and there proposed marriage. She referred him to her father. The lover stated his case to Mr. Sullivan. He consulted Margery who frankly admitted that she had been a little coquettish with the good looking youth, but much to his joy, assured him that she had no thought of anything serious. But the circumstance revealed to him his own sentiment towards her, which he had discovered was other than paternal. Her foster father made known his love. It was mutual, and although he was twenty years her senior, so far as any records or evidence of the matter is now accessible it was a happy union.



He soon after purchased a farm in Berwick, to which he devoted his attention when not engaged in teaching. Much of the time he had two schools under his charge.

He has been described as "a marked man in his personal appearance, of great natural abilities and mental cultivation." He was reared in the faith of the Catholic church. Amory<sup>1</sup> asserts that he did not attend religious services in the neighborhood where there were only Protestant churches, and for that reason "it has been conjectured Master Sullivan kept steadfast to the faith of his childhood." He lived to the venerable age of 105 years and was beloved and respected by all who knew him. Writers have portrayed his wife as an excellent woman of great energy and firmness of character. Amory (*supra*) says: "Her sons very probably inherited largely from her the ambition and industry that made them useful and distinguished." James, the fourth son of John Sullivan, was born in Berwick, Maine, April 22, 1744. As a boy he worked on his father's farm attending to duties common to such a life, which then included a constant watchfulness to guard against the predatory forays of the Indians. His father designed to rear him for military service but an accident which happened to him when a lad changed the course of his life. This was the complicated fracture of one of his legs while felling a tree. His foot, while pressed upon a branch to secure better play for his axe, accidentally slipping, the bent tree sprang into place. James was thrown down, and his leg, caught in the cleft, was badly broken. The usual version of the story adds that, while thus prostrate, he cut his limb free with his axe, and, dragging himself along the ground to the stone-drag, contrived to work his way on to it, and drive the oxen home, the distance of a mile, to his father's house. This accident led to a long illness, and the consequence was lameness for life.<sup>2</sup>

John Sullivan, Jr., the oldest brother of James was a lawyer of ability in Durham, New Hampshire. He was a revolutionary general of renown, prominent in the Conti-

(1) Amory's *Life of James Sullivan* (Boston, 1859).

(2) *Ib.* p. 21. .



national Congress, once governor of his state, and was a man highly respected and honored at home and throughout the country.

About 1764 James entered his office as a student at law. While living there he became acquainted with Hatty Odiorne, daughter of William Odiorne a ship builder, and also commissioner under the royal government. He was married to Miss Odiorne Feb. 22, 1768. As soon as he had completed his course of legal studies he went to Georgetown in his native state and commenced the practice of law. It was only a small village with poor business prospects. It is related that some one asked him why he had chosen such a place for the beginning of his legal career. His answer was that wishing to break into the world somewhere, he had concluded to assail it at its weakest point.

Not far above, on the bank of the Kennebec river in what is now the town of Dresden is still standing an ancient building, long since used for other purposes, which was then the court house for the county of Lincoln. It had been erected some years earlier by the Plymouth Company, who were proprietors of extensive tracts of land on the Kennebec, under the supervision of Dr. Sylvester Gardiner. Within its walls have been heard the eloquent voices of James Otis, John Adams, the Quincys, the Sewalls and other eminent lawyers of those days. It was here that James Sullivan argued his first case before a jury.

He did not however long remain at Georgetown. Biddeford and Pepperrellborough, now Saco, were more promising towns for a young lawyer and thither he removed, locating in Biddeford.

"Riding the circuits" of the courts was then the universal custom. Through this system unknown to any one of this or even the past generation in Maine, the attorneys of Boston and other large towns in the province held the professional business of Maine towns; for when riding these circuits they not only attended to the litigation where they had been retained, but secured new cases at the same time. In other words the Boston lawyers by its means held what was practically a monopoly of the desirable law practice in



Maine. It was naturally the smaller class of business and law cases that fell to the local professionals. Yet it appears that young Sullivan was making progress, acquiring an enviable reputation as an advocate and building up a good practice.

But for some years prior to the revolution litigation throughout the Colonies almost ceased. This was caused by the universal opposition to the measures of the mother government. Men whose minds were on problems which were to change the history of the world for centuries lost interest in disputes with their neighbors. Business generally was paralyzed and none suffered more than the lawyers. The courts were virtually suspended.

Through his family he owned real estate in what is now the town of Limerick. The gloom which political eruptions cast over others did not affect him. He laid aside quill, paper and wafers, and took instead ax, shovel and plow, and joined the settlers who had started to build a new town in York County. He labored on his land during the week, returning every Saturday on horseback, a distance of thirty miles, to his home and law office in Biddeford. He was popular with these settlers who named their town Limerick in honor of his father, who was born in Limerick, in Ireland.

John Adams who frequently attended the courts at Saco formed Sullivan's acquaintance. He and other leading lawyers on the eastern circuit were pleased with him and kind in their attentions to him. Mr. Adams mentions in his diary under the date of July, 1770, a visit made to the house of Mr. Sullivan. He was in company with Farnham, Winthrop, and David Sewall; the latter afterwards an associate with Sullivan on the supreme bench. Farnham and Sewall started somewhat earlier than their companions, that they might order dinner at Allen's Tavern, at the Biddeford Bridge; and towards noon Adams and Winthrop joined them at the dwelling of James Sullivan. After refreshing themselves with punch, then the usual beverage, they all adjourned to the tavern to dine; and, when they had finished their repast, Sullivan proposed to the party a



visit to an ancient crone in the neighborhood, who, from her great age and accurate memory of things long past, was one of the wonders of that part of the country. She was one hundred and fifteen years of age, having been born in 1655, near Derry, in Ireland. She remembered events in the reign of Charles the Second, having lived under seven English monarchs.<sup>3</sup>

In a letter to his wife, dated York, 29th June, 1774, Mr. Adams makes further mention of both John and James Sullivan:

There is very little business here, and David Sewall, David Wyer, John Sullivan and James Sullivan and Theophilus Bradbury are the lawyers who attend the inferior courts, and, consequently, conduct the causes at the superior.

I find that the country is the situation to make estates by the law. John Sullivan, who is placed at Durham, in New Hampshire, is younger, both in years and practice, than I am. He began with nothing, but is now said to be worth ten thousand pounds, lawful money; his brother James has five or six, or perhaps seven, thousand pounds, consisting in houses and lands, notes and mortgages. He has a fine stream of water, with an excellent corn-mill, saw-mill, fulling-mill, scythe-mill and others, in all, six mills, which are both his delight and his profit. As he has earned cash in his business at the bar, he has taken opportunities to purchase farms of his neighbors, who wanted to sell and move out further into the woods, at an advantageous rate, and in this way has been growing rich. Under the smiles and auspices of Governor Wentworth, he has been promoted in the civil and military way, so that he is treated with great respect in this neighborhood.

James Sullivan, brother of the other, who studied law under him, without an academical education (and John was in the same case), is fixed at Saco, alias Biddeford, in our province. He began with neither learning, books, estates, nor anything but his head and hands, and is now a very popular lawyer, and growing rich very fast, purchasing great farms, and is a justice of the peace and a member of the General Court.

Sentiment in Maine towns like Biddeford and Pepperellborough began early to formulate against the policy of Great Britain to arbitrarily govern the colonies through a parliament in which they were not represented. A study of such of the old records of these towns of that period which are now extant discloses the gradual yet steady growth of the spirit of American independence.

(3) Ib. 433.



The New England town meeting was then and is today the forum of a real democracy. Each is a small republic in itself. It was the one American institution that first demonstrated to the world that man was capable of self-government. It was that network of the committees of safety organized in the beginning by Samuel Adams and his associates, and who were elected in town meetings in which every voter was a sovereign, that gave cohesive strength to the patriots. As early as 1774 James Sullivan embraced the cause of American independence and his ability and popularity made him a tower of strength in the movement with the inhabitants of the Maine settlements.

In the spring of that year he was elected a representative to the General Court. On the first day of June the tyrannical and hated Boston port bill went into effect. Samuel Adams and James Warren were the recognized leaders of the court which had convened at Salem. Upon the standing committee on the state of the province were four men whose loyalty was distrusted by Adams and Warren. They selected a few men whom they believed were true for conference, and Sullivan was one of these. For three nights they met in secrecy and devised measures for future operation. The third evening a plan was matured for the initiation of a general congress for the continent to meet the following September at Philadelphia. The delegates were selected, funds provided, and letters prepared to the other colonies requesting co-operation. James Sullivan was one of these delegates. Behind closed doors, Samuel Adams having a key to it safe in his own pocket, the report was accepted, although the messenger of Governor Gage was then reading outside on the stair-case the proclamation dissolving the court.

After Mr. Sullivan's return to his home on the 30th day of July, a spirited town meeting was held in Biddeford, fully endorsing the course of their representative and adopting resolutions that placed them in entire accord with the patriots of the colonies.

On September 1st, 1774, Governor Gage issued his precept for the General Court to convene at Salem on the fifth



day of October. Sensing the strong sentiment for resistance that was daily increasing among all classes of the people, on the twenty-eighth day of September he made proclamation postponing it indefinitely. The delegates, many of them not hearing this, had arrived and came together. They waited a day for the governor to appear before them which he did not do. They then resolved themselves into a Provincial Congress, choosing John Hancock president and Benj. Lincoln clerk. This was the beginning of the Continental Congress of which Mr. Sullivan was an active and influential member.

On the twenty-second day of December he was moderator of a town meeting in Biddeford, and was chosen a member of the committee of Safety and Inspection and empowered to correspond with other Maine towns. Because of his lameness he could not, like his brothers, take part in the military resistance of the country. But the effect of his voice and pen in behalf of liberty was felt not only in Maine but throughout the colonies.

The second session of the Continental Congress convened Feb. 1, 1775, at the meeting house in Cambridge. A committee of its members was appointed to publish in a pamphlet the doings of the late Congress, and to prepare an address to the inhabitants. Mr. Sullivan had a place on that committee and wrote a report and address. Through his efforts the Congress passed measures for the protection of the settlements in eastern Maine and he was appointed to consider the expediency of enlisting Indians for the war.

He issued the following letter to the eastern tribes:

Friends and Good Brothers: We, the delegates of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay, being come together in congress to consider what may be best for you and ourselves to do to get rid of the slavery designed to be brought upon us, have thought it our duty to write you the following letter:

Brothers: The great wickedness of such as should be our friends, but are our enemies, we mean the ministry of Great Britain, has laid deep plots to take away our liberty and your liberty. They want to get all our money; make us pay it to them, when they never earned it; to make you and us their servants; and let us have nothing to eat, drink, or wear, but what they say we shall; and prevent us from having guns and powder to use, and kill our deer, and wolves,



and other game, or to get skins and fur to trade with us for what you want; but we hope soon to be able to supply you with both guns and powder of our own making.

We have petitioned to England for you and us, and told them plainly we want nothing but our own, and do not want to hurt them; but they will not hear us, and have sent over great ships, and their men, with guns, to make us give up, and kill us, and have killed some of our men; but we have driven them back and beat them, and killed a great many of their men.

The Englishmen of all the colonies, from Nova Scotia to Georgia, have firmly resolved to stand together and oppose them. Our liberty and your liberty is the same; we are brothers, and what is for our good is for your good; and we, by standing together, shall make those wicked men afraid, and overcome them, and all be free men. Captain Goldthwait has given up Fort Pownall into the hands of our enemies; we are angry at it, and we hear you are angry with him, and we do not wonder at it. We want to know what you, our good brothers, want from us of clothing, or warlike stores, and we will supply you as fast as we can. We will do all for you we can, and fight to save you, any time, and hope that none of your men, or the Indians in Canada, will join with our enemies. You may have a great deal of influence over them. Our good brothers, the Indians at Stockbridge, all join with us, and some of their men have enlisted as soldiers, and we have given them that enlisted, each one, a blanket and a ribbon, and they will be paid when they are from home in the service; and, if any of you are willing to enlist, we will do the same for you.

Brothers: We beseech that God who lives above, and that does what is right here below, to be your friend and bless you, and to prevent the designs of those wicked men from hurting you or us.

By this means, Indians from the Penobscot tribe and from other parts of Maine were soldiers in this war. He drafted the act passed by the Massachusetts General Court Nov. 11, 1775, for fitting out armed vessels to protect the sea coast; authorizing the issue of letters of marque and reprisal, erecting courts for the condemnation of prizes.

John Adams in a letter to Elbridge Gerry under date of April 10, 1810, mentions it as one of the most important documents in history as it was the first actual avowal by any deliberative body in America of intended offensive hostilities to be found in the annals of the revolution.<sup>4</sup>

All accessible sources of information of the revolutionary period whether in books of history or in old documents

(4) Ib. p. 62.



and records attest to the fact that from the first to last, James Sullivan stood high in the confidence of the leaders in that great struggle and was admitted to their most intimate councils. And none were more fearless and active in the cause than was he.

He served on the general Committee of Safety from its inception until the close of the war. It is related by Colonel Paul Revere, that, in the winter of 1774-5, he was one of thirty patriots who formed a committee for the purpose of watching the British soldiers, and learning of their intended movements. When they met each member swore on the Bible not to reveal any of their transactions but to Warren, Hancock, Adams, Church and one or two others.<sup>5</sup> It was largely through his efforts that the Judas of their little band, Dr. Benjamin Church, was detected in revealing their secrets to Governor Gage and summary punishment therefore administered to him. He had great influence with the council and always exerted it whenever necessary in aid of Maine interests.

When Captain Mowatt reduced Falmouth to ashes, his power at the seat of government was a great blessing to its distressed and homeless inhabitants. It was also largely through his efforts that immediate action was taken by the council to more safely fortify and protect that port.

Three admiralty judges were appointed under the act above referred to. These were: Nathan Cushing, for the southern; Timothy Pickering for the central and Mr. Sullivan for the eastern district.

As we trace his career from 1774 to the close of the Revolution we see General Washington ever placing the utmost confidence in his integrity, his ability and his devotion to the cause of freedom and seeking his counsel. About eighteen months after he had taken his seat in the Provincial Congress he was appointed by the Council, it being then clothed with executive as well as legislative powers, to a seat on the bench of the Superior Court of Judicature. This was the highest or supreme court of the

(5) *Ib.* p. 57.



province. His letter of acceptance dated March 27, 1776, was as follows:

I am informed by the secretary that the honorable Council have appointed me a justice of the Supreme Court, and that they request my answer thereto. Since the appointment forbids my saying that I am entirely incapable of transacting the business incident to that office, I beg leave to acquaint you that I shall cheerfully accept of, and studiously endeavor to qualify myself for, the honorable and important seat assigned me. The present relaxations of government, and the many difficulties in straightening the reins thereof at this critical juncture, would be very discouraging, were it not for the great abilities of the honorable gentlemen I am to sit with. This appointment is the reason of my begging to resign the office of judge of the maritime court for the eastern district of this colony, to which some time ago I had the honor of being appointed.

His associates were William Cushing, afterwards appointed to the Supreme Court of the United States under the federal constitution, Jedediah Foster, Nathan Peaslee Sargent and David Sewall—It was a high honor for this young man who had not completed his thirty-second year. Yet it required courage to serve in that capacity. Some writer has said that those early judges “sat with halters around their necks.” These builders of a new government called themselves patriots and the world has ever since known “them by that name, but the British government hailed them as rebels. And had the rebellion proven a failure the members of the highest court in rebeldom would undoubtedly have been among the first to mount the scaffold.

The first problem that confronted the court was how to quickly assemble a law library for their use, the possession of which was an absolute necessity. They could not very well order one from London. The lawyers of the colony who had turned their backs upon the patriots and remained loyal to the crown were of the high class of attorneys who owned valuable libraries. They had fled, many of them going to England and in their haste had left their law books behind. These were promptly confiscated and purchased from the new government by the new court.

Eben Sullivan the younger brother of James as well as his older brother John, one of the famous generals of the



Revolution, was now captain of a company that he had raised at Berwick of which Nathan Lord was lieutenant. This company had been in the engagement at Bunker's Hill. He was in the Canadian expedition and was at one time taken prisoner by the Indians of Canada, held as prisoner for some time and experienced suffering and cruelty at their hands but finally escaped.

As the problems of war times multiplied and perplexities became more complex his judicial duties increased and he began to realize that it was necessary for him to reside nearer the seat of government. He loved the neighborhood of his nativity. In Biddeford and Pepperrellborough he had trusted and tried friends always devoted to his interests. He loved them and loved the grand ocean side where he had grown from boyhood to mature manhood; and the old fishing and hunting grounds of his youth were dear to him. But feeling that duty called him to make this sacrifice, in February, 1778, he sold his house at Biddeford to Joseph Morrill and moved to Groton, in the county of Middlesex. A few years later he settled in Boston which was his home during the remainder of his life.

Having no written constitution they then did things which would today seem strange to us. The people of Biddeford and Pepperrellborough reposed such confidence in him—and there being then no organic law to prevent a member of the court from sitting in the Legislature, that after this change of abode he was re-elected as their representative for 1778-9.

When the question of changing their form of government by adopting a constitution entirely independent of their charter was agitated by the colony, he was chosen to represent Groton in a constitutional convention and took a leading part in all of its deliberations.

At this period of our history England had not abolished the slave trade and black men were bought and sold like cattle in all of the colonies including the District of Maine. From the dawn of our political emancipation the glaring inconsistency of this condition with our pretensions to equality and freedom was apparent to many.



James Sullivan was one of the earliest to call public attention to it. The black man was then as he has ever since been in all of our wars, loyal to his oppressors. A black man was one of the victims of the Boston massacre in 1770; and the shot which killed Major Pitcairn at Bunker's Hill is said to have been fired by a black slave owned by one of the patriots. Judge Sullivan improved every opportunity in his judicial capacity, as a legislator and as a publicist to put an end to the slave traffic.

The name of John Quincy Adams shines forth in glorious splendor as the first great American to make a successful fight in Congress in the Anti Slavery cause, when he contended for the right of petition. We are however proud of the fact that a Maine man, James Sullivan, was his predecessor in this crusade. The difference was that fate gave Mr. Adams the opportunity to be with the immortals in the struggle.

In 1775 he was sent on a difficult commission to Ticonderoga in company with W. Spooner and J. Foster, for whose services the Provincial Congress passed a vote of thanks.

On the fourth of July, 1782, Samuel Adams, Nathaniel Gorham, William Phillips, James Sullivan, George Cabot, Stephen Higginson and Leonard Jarvis, were appointed by resolve, to consider—

What measures were to be taken to reduce the expenses of government, show the best method of supplying the public treasury, and reforming the state of the finances.

Towards the end of 1784 he was present at the Congress, then sitting at Trenton, as commissioner for prosecuting the claim of Massachusetts to the western lands. He resigned his seat on the bench and returned to the practice of the law in Boston, but yet was never entirely disengaged from public and political affairs. In 1788 he was appointed judge of probate for Suffolk County. In 1790 he resigned his office and became Attorney General.

Our forefathers' interest in preserving a history of their state and country was great. It was so in the early days of Maine and remained so until recent years. Then the most eminent citizens holding the most honorable positions, gov-



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ernors, federal senators, congressmen, etc., were the founders of our historical societies. How regrettable it is that many, at least, of Maine's leading men of this day and generation view this subject from such an angle of cold indifference as they do.

James Sullivan was one of the organizers of the Massachusetts Historical Society and its first president. In 1792 this Society celebrated the third centennial anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus. Jeremy Belknap delivered the address at its meeting at Brattle Street church. Dr. Thacher offered prayer. That evening Hancock and Adams, the governor and lieutenant governor, with the council dined with Mr. Sullivan, its president, whose residence was in Bowdoin square.

The government at Washington, May 31, 1796, appointed him as agent for the United States, to maintain their interests before the Board of Commissioners, who were to decide what river was the river St. Croix, according to the fifth article of the treaty of amity, commerce and navigation, with Great Britain. In the instructions from the government to Judge Sullivan accompanying this notice appears the following:

Your researches as the historian of the district of Maine, your reputation as a lawyer, and your official employment as the attorney-general of Massachusetts, the state directly and most materially interested in the event, have designated you as the agent of the United States to manage their claim of boundary where their territory joins that of his Britannic Majesty, in his province of New Brunswick, formerly a part of his province of Nova Scotia.

The decision of this commission as to what was the true St. Croix river occasioned much discussion at the time and has ever since been a fertile theme of controversy among historians. The late Honorable Israel Washburn (Me. Hist. Soc. Col., Vol. 8, pp. 3-103) attacked it severely claiming that the findings of the commission were wrong and that the State of Maine thereby lost a valuable territory which rightfully belonged to it. The writer has given the subject considerable study and is now of the opinion it was a correct decision.

Politically Judge Sullivan stood with Washington and Adams, and was in accord with most of the Federalist poli-



cies but later was more closely allied with the Republicans. He never was, however, as far as we can understand, in sympathy with the sedition laws enacted and supported by the Federalists. And yet as attorney general it devolved upon him in 1799 to prosecute Abijah Adams for libeling the Legislature. Sullivan prosecuted and he was indicted at common law, convicted and sentenced to imprisonment.

As a writer for newspapers and periodicals his record as an earnest advocate for freedom of the press is clear and certain. In that time the troubles in France had an abiding influence upon American politics. Sullivan's entire political career evidences the fact that he was a friend to France. His enemies accused him of taking this position because he was of Irish descent and France was then assisting Irish rebels. Undoubtedly there was some truth in this. At least we do not find anything to show a desire on his part to deny it.

At the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries the powerful Federalist party was disintegrating. It had served the country well during the construction days. But later its policies were un-American and it was doomed to fall. Judge Sullivan was twice the Republican candidate for governor and was elected in 1807. Both campaigns were bitter and acrimonious.—What we would today term "dirty politics" prevailed to the limit.

His administration though brief was wise and statesmanlike and never assailed by his enemies. His love for the people of Maine was exemplified by his persistent efforts to secure for them the Betterment Act, or Squatter law. It was finally carried through the legislature under the leadership of William King of Bath, as proposed by Governor Sullivan.

He was re-elected governor in 1809 and died December 4th of that year. James had four brothers, Benjamin, an officer in the British Navy who was lost at sea before the Revolution; Daniel who was a captain in the Revolutionary War and the founder of the town of Sullivan in the State of Maine; John, already mentioned, who was a major general in the Continental army and Governor of New Hampshire; and Ebenezer, an officer in the Revolution and a law-



yer in Berwick, Maine. He had one sister, Mary, who married Theophilus Hardy.

As an author, writer and historian he will be best remembered by his "History of the District of Maine," published in Boston in 1795, and the first history of Maine to be published. This was followed by "A History of the Land Titles in Massachusetts." The early volumes of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society contain others of his writings which are valuable contributions to our colonial history.

His death was mourned by the entire commonwealth. Resolves relating to his record as a public man were passed by the Legislature and an address of condolence signed by the President of the Senate and Speaker of the House was sent to his widow, Martha Sullivan. The Rev. Mr. Buckmore delivered a funeral sermon in which he said:

This is not the place to detail to you minutely the progress of his elevation; from the time when he first drew the observation of his country, every step is marked with labor and vigor; with increasing confidence in the public, and with unabated zeal and activity in the man. There is hardly a station of trust, of toil, or of dignity, in the commonwealth, where his name does not appear, though now only as a part of former records; and, in the regions of science and literature, where we should least expect them, we find the most frequent traces of his efforts, and of his indefatigable industry.

Samuel L. Knapp at that time wrote of him:

Our country has a property in the characters of its great men. They shed a glory over its annals, and are bright examples for future citizens. Other nations, too, may enjoy their light. The flame of liberty has been caught from the patriots of Greece and Rome by men who were not born in those lands, while the descendants of those patriots have forgotten the fame of their ancestors. And should it happen, contrary to all our prayers and all our trusts, that the inhabitants of this country, at some period hereafter, should lose the freedom and the spirit of their fathers, the history of our Adamses, our Warrens and our Sullivans, shall wake the courage of patriots on distant shores, and teach them to triumph over oppression.

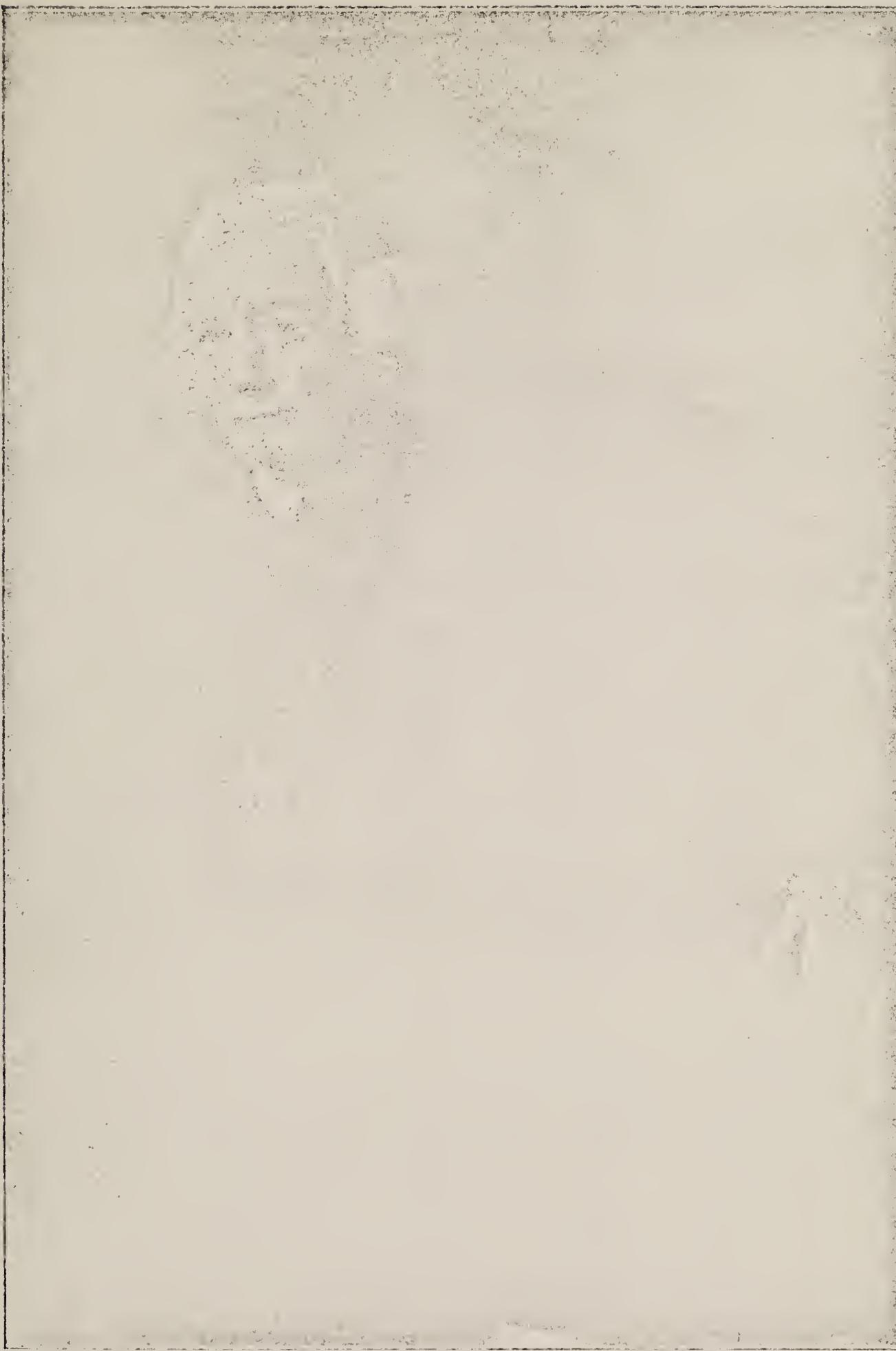
James Winthrop said:

As governor he was remarkably successful in mitigating the severity of the political parties which divided the state, and their leaders generally and sincerely regretted his death, \* \* \* and was buried with the honors conferred on his exalted station, and which were acknowledged to belong to his distinguished merit.



# A Bit of Old England in New England



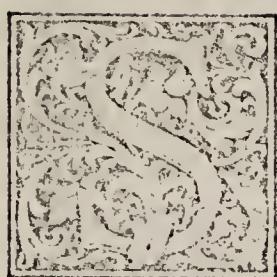


Dr. Sylvester Gardiner, the Founder of the Gardiner Family in Maine

"Between the side curls of a white  
wig, a kindly, keen old  
face looks out."



## A BIT OF OLD ENGLAND IN NEW ENGLAND



HOULD you ever chance to visit historic old Christ Church in Gardiner, you would see near the pulpit, a beautiful Cenotaph of black marble, about eight feet high, enclosed in a fine oaken frame, and cemented in the wall, bearing an inscription in Latin, a somewhat literal translation of which reads as follows:

Sacred to the memory of Silvester Gardiner, who, born in Rhode Island, of a family not obscure, studied in Paris, and practised medicine successfully a long time in Boston. Having obtained a competency, he directed his attention to the civilization and improvement of the eastern country, then uncultivated. Here he leveled extensive tracts of forest, built various kinds of mills, ornamented the country with numerous cottages, erected a Church, and by the inhabitants of these parts has richly deserved to be called the father of the land. Distinguished for his abilities, a learned physician, a faithful husband, a good father, of incorruptible integrity in transacting of business, indefatigable, sagacious and vigilant, of upright life, deeply read in the Sacred Scriptures, a firm believer in the Christian faith and wholly devoted to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, he died in Rhode Island, in the year of our Lord 1786, aged 79. That he might commend to posterity the memory of a man who deserved so well of the Church and the Republic, and that a monument might exist of his own gratitude towards his venerable grandfather, Robert Hallowell Gardiner, his grandson and heir, has erected this honorary marble.

A little to the left and upon the southern wall of the Church you would see a second marble tablet which reads as follows:

This Memorial Stone erected by the Parish of Christ Church, attests their grateful remembrance for Robert Hallowell Gardiner, from youth to age, their Leader, Benefactor and Godly example. MDCCCLXIV.

Within the span of life of these two men may be found practically the complete history of the settlement and development of Gardinerston or Gardiner for more than one hundred years. Their ideas of development were in many respects, radically different; Dr. Silvester Gardiner, although born in the fourth generation from the landing of the emigrant, George Gardiner, upon American soil, was



wholly English in his ideas of the life and development of a community. And by English, I refer to that class of English people, who at all times powerful, influential, albeit conservative, have held possession of the land from time immemorial. Robert Hallowell Gardiner, although born in England, and coming to America shortly after the Revolution, while inheriting the more marked characteristics of his ancestors, yet at the same time was able to adapt himself in all essential respects to the life and character of the new Republic. Robert Hallowell Gardiner 3rd, has well expressed the differing characteristics of these two men in the following words:

"I can rejoice, too, with my grandfather, that the plans of *his* grandfather have not been realized. It oftens happens that the dreams of an intensely practical and efficient man, such as Dr. Silvester Gardiner, have the essentials of true poetry; and he dreamed a noble dream which he did his utmost to carry into reality.

Here, when his keen eye saw the possibilities of industrial development, greater in his day than in ours, when the railroad, the mine, and the wheat field have fixed the industrial centres far from us, he planned to establish a great estate, where, for generation after generation, his descendants should reign supreme as lords of the manor, benevolent, indeed, but autoeratic, each a law unto himself. To each such descendant he meant to give, by the owwnership of every foot of ground for miles about, the power to regulate the community as he chose, while, by not possessing the power of alienation, each such descendant should be bound as closely to the soil as his tenants. Dr. Gardiner hoped that his descendants, so bound, yet possessing such power, would follow the example he had striven to set them, and that through their efforts peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety might be established here for all generations, and so perpetuate his name by a monument more enduring than any triumph of the sculptor's art.

It was, indeed, a noble dream; yet, if I may compare small things with great, the time was close at hand, when in the course of human events, it became necessary that it should pass away, and that every man who came to establish himself here should assume that equal and separate station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle him. The great Declaration, against which Dr. Gardiner strove, with all his force, made his petty kingdom, noble as he hoped that kingdom would be, forever impossible. We, who are descended from their loins, may surely be pardoned, if, while we call up for a moment the splendid plans of Dr. Gardiner, we take equal pride in his grandson, who, when yet a boy, saw, as his grandfather could



not see, that there was a noble future before him, and who, therefore, by his first act on reaching manhood, surrendered the petty autocracy established for him, threw open his lands to sale, and encouraged their settlement by men who should not be tenants and dependents, but equals and friends. He saw that to be a free man in a free and independent community was a higher honor than to be lord of any manor, however vast. He saw that the new doctrine of the equality of all men was but the old one of the obligation of every man to labor and to serve; and to the welfare of his place he devoted his time, his fortune and his strength. Nor was it without a rich reward, for who could hope for a finer eulogy than that the community in which he had lived to more than fourscore years should say that from youth to age he had been their leader, benefactor and godly example?"

The settlement and subsequent development of Gardiner by the family for which it was named occupies a unique position in the history of New England. In its inception it did not differ materially from many other settlements made in New England; the families of Waldo, Pepperell, Phipps, and Knox are familiar illustrations within our own state of those having it in mind to establish baronial estates similar in many respects to those found in the mother country. But in practically every instance the families were scattered and the lands sold within a comparatively few years after the Revolution. Farther South there are today typical illustrations of the idea which I am attempting to make clear. For example, the Carrolls, of Carrollton, Maryland, the Carters, of Shirley, Virginia, and, until within a very few years, the Lees, of Stratford.

But in New England the family of Gardiner is unique and from the time of their first coming to the Kennebec settlements to the present day, the history of the family is without parallel in our annals. Their ownership of a large landed estate, their settlement and development of the city bearing their name, the law of English entail which rested for many years upon the property, the endowment of the Church and presentation of the glebe lands combined with the presentation of the living as practised in England even to this day, the manor house, in its beautiful setting of field, pasture, park and wood, and the passing of the estate under as perfect an example of the English law of primogeniture as may be found anywhere in England at the present time,



reads almost like a romance, and constitutes, if you please, what may well be known as a bit of Old England in New England.

To make the parallel more concrete we have here an illustration of what would be true if the descendants of Knox still lived at Montpelier, or if the descendants of Washington still lived at Mount Vernon, or if the descendants of Jefferson still lived at Monticello. So far as we can learn, the case of the Gardiners is absolutely unique in New England with but very rare instances in America.

I must of necessity pass over very briefly those events in the history of the territory now known as Gardiner prior to the settlement by Dr. Gardiner, although to the student of history there is much that is of interest. In the earlier days the region about the Cobbseseecontee River seems to have been a favorite resort for Indians, who belonged to the Kennebec tribe of the Abenaki nation and occupied the land from Merrymeeting Bay to Moosehead Lake, thus possessing essentially the most desirable portion of Maine. They seem to have been attracted to the mouth of the Cobbseseecontee because of the great abundance of sturgeon in its waters; in fact it seems to be from the Indian word Cabbassa, meaning a sturgeon, that the river derives its name. It is well known that the hieroglyph of a sturgeon was adopted as their symbol, and was attached to their treaties and deeds. The spire of old St. Ann's Church, the first church edifice erected in Gardiner by Dr. Gardiner, was surmounted by a large gilt sturgeon, or Cabbassa.

The territory along the banks of the Kennebec was first included in the grant made in 1606 by James I, to the Plymouth Council; later, in 1620, the King renewed this charter and on January 13, 1629, the Kennebec or Plymouth Patent was conveyed to William Bradford and his associates. They established some trading posts and forts along the river and carried on an exceedingly prosperous business in furs, and yet when in 1661 they conveyed the entire territory to Edward Tyng, John Winslow and others for four hundred pounds, there were less than three hundred white settlers. These grantees and their heirs held the



land for nearly a century, making but little effort to establish settlements; the few settlements they did make were so harassed by the Indians that in 1749 there were but two white families above Merrymeeting Bay. Finally in June, 1753, a corporation was formed known as "The Proprietors of the Kennebec Purchase from the late Colony of New Plymouth;" among the lands included in this purchase was a tract thirty-one miles wide, extending from Merrymeeting Bay to Norridgewock, with the Kennebec River in the centre. This Company was composed of some of the richest and ablest men from the neighborhood of Boston, the largest single owner being Dr. Sylvester Gardiner, one of the leading spirits in the settlement of that section of the country. Among other owners in the new corporation were Benjamin Hallowell and James Bowdoin; we find their names perpetuated in the names of four towns and a college, namely, Gardiner, Hallowell, Bowdoin, Bowdoinham, and Bowdoin College.

Dr. Gardiner at this time was forty-six years of age and was an enterprising, energetic man, with sound judgment and practical business talent. He had received his early education in the schools of Boston and later went abroad for the purpose of preparing himself for the medical profession. After eight years spent in London and Paris he returned to Boston, where his talents and acquirements soon gained him an extensive and lucrative practice. He opened a store for the importation and sale of drugs and medicine, located at the corner of Washington and Winter Streets, his lot extending half way to Tremont Street. As a result of his business activities he became very wealthy for those days and at the outbreak of the American Revolution he undoubtedly occupied a high place in wealth, social position and influence.

To the work of developing the vast resources of the Kennebec Purchase he brought an uncommon zeal, a ripe judgment, great business talent and a keen interest in the growth of the country; so confident, indeed, was he of success, that he was willing to commence at his own expense what the large company of proprietors had never been able



to accomplish. He first received a grant of several hundred acres of land in Pownalboro, now known as Dresden, laid out a farm, erected houses and mills, and employed a sloop to run from Boston to the Kennebec in the summer and to the Sheepscot in the winter. His energy and zeal in the new settlement early won for him the position of moderator of the Plymouth Company. To induce settlers to locate it was necessary to protect them from the Indians, and accordingly in 1754 the Company induced Governor Shirley of Massachusetts to erect a fort at Winslow, the blockhouse of which is still standing, and the Company itself built Fort Western at the place which is now Augusta. In that same year Dr. Gardiner purchased what was known as the Cobbosseecontee tract, extending from Bowdoin to Hallowell, and including within its limits what is now known as Gardiner, Randolph, Pittston, Dresden, and other towns. No doubt he was attracted to the site of the present city of Gardiner by the stream of water which, with a fall of one hundred and thirty feet in less than a mile, was tumbling over the rocks, plainly indicating to him its future usefulness in driving machinery; and he was also influenced by the fact that the depth of water in the Kennebec at this point showed that it was the true head of navigation. Dr. Gardiner proceeded to build what is known as dam number one, still owned by his descendants, erected a saw-mill and grist-mill, also a fulling mill, a wharf and several stores, sold or leased land to new settlers on very favorable terms, often advancing them funds for the purchase of stock, erection of buildings, etc., and soon had a rent roll of about \$6,000 per year. He built a mansion known as the "Great House," a reproduction of the old Court House still standing in Dresden, which was occupied as a residence by his son William until his death. At about this time he also established a settlement in what is now known as Randolph, directly across the river from Gardiner.

Either through grant from the Company in recognition of his distinguished services, or by purchase, he soon became the owner of a vast estate of about one hundred thousand acres of land which occupied in whole or in part of



what is now forty-five towns, extending from Dresden to Norridgewock. Even at this early period his holdings in the Kennebec territory were estimated to be worth one hundred and forty thousand dollars.

Dr. Gardiner was a most zealous churchman and a liberal patron of the Episcopal Church, and had been one of the founders and early supporters of King's Chapel in Boston; he therefore took especial pains to plant this faith on the soil of the Plymouth Company, and through his efforts and means a church was early established at Dresden, another was planted further down the river, and the third, liberally endowed by him, was erected in Gardiner on the present site of the Episcopal vestry, known for many years as St. Ann's Church, named for his eldest daughter.

Although born in America, Dr. Gardiner's residence abroad had made him thoroughly English in his sympathies; he was, therefore, an ardent Royalist and upon the breaking out of the Revolutionary War remained faithful to the mother country. His family, with others of prominence, left Boston upon its evacuation by the British in March, 1776, and went to England where they remained until the close of the war. It must have been a severe struggle for him to sail away almost penniless, abandoning his vast possessions in Maine, besides a large amount of valuable real and personal property in Boston; but his course was that of many other wealthy men of the country who remained loyal to the established government rather than trust to an untried one. He took with him to England personal property amounting to about four hundred pounds; his fine library consisting of over five hundred volumes of rare folios, quartos, octavos and duodecimos was sold at auction by William Cooper in 1778; practically all of his household furniture was sequestrated and sold, as was also that of his son-in-law, Robert Hallowell.

If the limits of this paper permitted, it would be interesting to consider the various influences which induced many of the prominent men of Massachusetts to abandon their native land, their friends and property, in maintenance of their allegiance to the mother country. They



were undoubtedly men of the highest character for virtue, intelligence and social position; with slight exceptions they embraced the whole body of Episcopalians and included men of every profession. Suffice it to say that we may now give to this large class of people who went into voluntary exile, the benefit of a liberal construction of their motives; the Winslows, Sewalls, Tyngs, Waldos, Ruggles, Pepperells, Chandlers and Saltonstalls, native born and honorable all, must have acted conscientiously in the conclusions they unfortunately adopted.

Under date of April 10, 1783, Dr. Gardiner wrote to his old friend, James Bowdoin, as follows:—"There is now an entire change in our ministry, which you will hear of before this reaches you, and with them most likely a change of political measures. God grant us all grace to put an end to this devouring war, so contrary to our most holy religion; and unite us all once more in that bond of peace and brotherly union so necessary to the happiness of both countries, which God grant may soon take place and give us all an opportunity once more to greet one another as friends."

After peace was finally established, Dr. Gardiner returned to America and settled in Newport, Rhode Island, where he practiced medicine until his death in 1786. He was buried in Trinity Church, Boston. One of his biographers has concisely summed up his leading characteristics in these words:—"He was a man of probity, and his Christian fortitude and piety were exemplary as his honesty was inflexible, and his friendship sincere."

During his absence in England his property in America had been confiscated, but in the case of the Kennebec estates the Attorney General found that the action was illegally prosecuted, and instituted new proceedings. Before they were completed peace was declared and the proceedings stayed. Had it not been for this flaw in the legal process, the history of Gardiner so far as the Gardiner family was concerned would have ended.

In 1759, Dr. Gardiner had sent his second son, William, to Gardinerston to engage in trade and take charge of his estates. In neither capacity does he appear to have been



much of a success; although his letters show him to have been a man of some education and general knowledge, yet his business ability was limited and he spent a large portion of his time in entertaining his friends, hunting, fishing, and playing practical jokes upon his neighbors. During the Revolution his Tory sentiments rendered him obnoxious to the opposite party and caused him considerable trouble. He declares that he was "7 times before committees; 2 before General Courts, 2 in Jail or confined." In 1777, he was convicted at Pownalborough, for being a person "inimically disposed" towards the state of Massachusetts; he was sentenced to be transported, but the Massachusetts Council, to which he appealed, was prevailed upon to reverse the action of the court. Soon after he returned to Gardinerston and resumed possession of his estates. From that time he was not seriously molested, but his spirit had been effectually cowed, and he allowed the squatters and others who were disposed to encroach upon the property to do about as they pleased. His father's letters were filled with complaints about "Billy's" inattention and neglect.

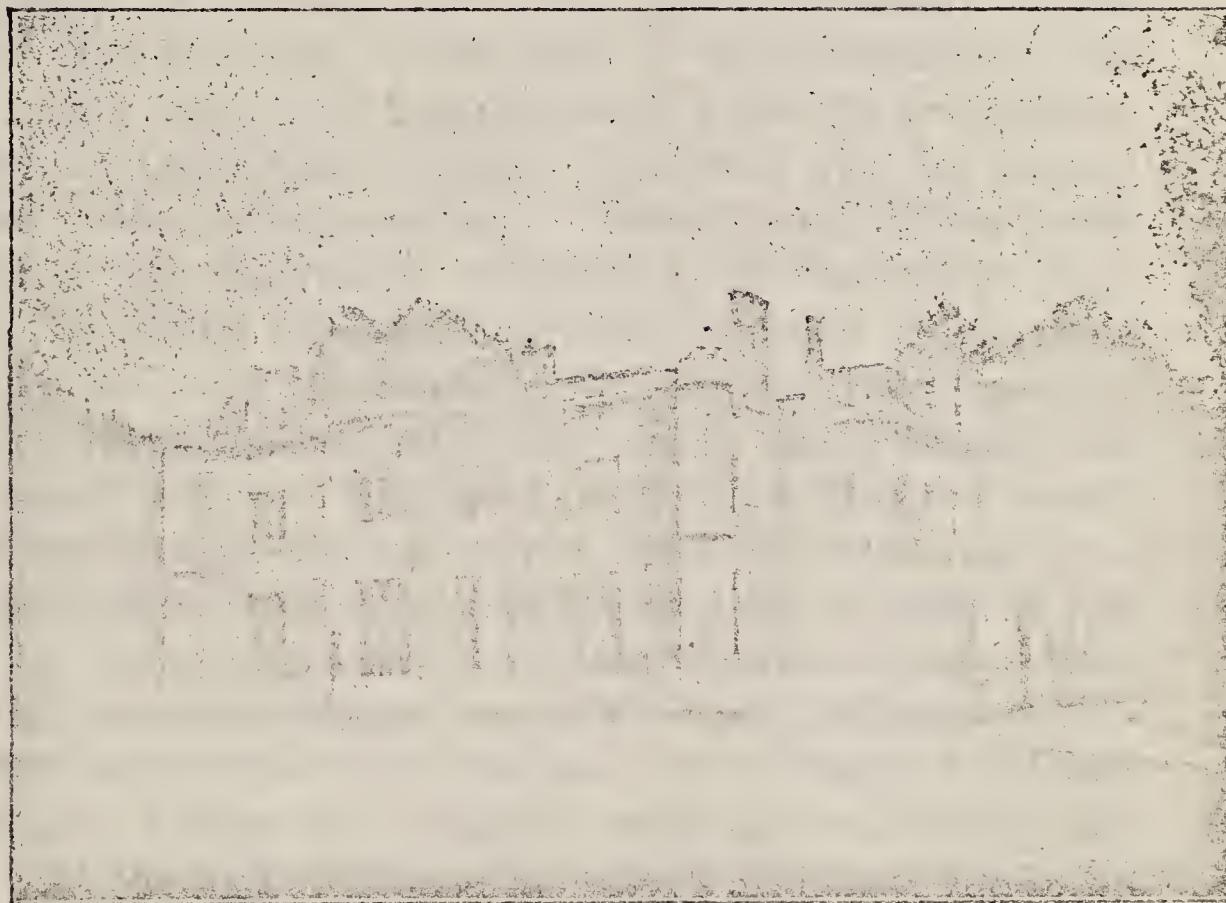
Contrary to the usual English law and custom, Dr. Gardiner practically disinherited by the terms of his will his oldest son, John, although by a codicil he bequeathed to him the sum of one thousand pounds, and devised to him his residence in Boston and a half interest in his lands in Pownalborough. Although strictly entailing the Kennebec estates it may be presumed that since he considered that he was in reality founding a family, it was perfectly allowable for him to depart from the established law of primogeniture. As a matter of fact he seems to have been in somewhat strained relations with John, who disagreed with him in politics and religion, being a Whig and a Unitarian; it further appears that John Gardiner was largely instrumental in changing King's Chapel, which his father had been prominent in establishing as an Episcopal Church, from the Episcopalian to the Unitarian faith.

Dr. Gardiner devised the entire Kennebec property to his second son, William, and in event of his dying without issue, so provided in his will that the estates should pass to



his grandson Robert Hallowell, on the condition that he should take the name of Gardiner. William Gardiner never married, and hence upon his death in 1787, Robert Hallowell, at that time a boy five years of age, became the sole heir to the vast domain of his grandfather.

An enduring memorial to Dr. Gardiner's sincerity and zeal as a Churchman is evidenced by the terms of his will whereby he bequeathed to the little Church of St. Ann's, in Gardinerston, the sum of twenty-eight pounds per year



OAKLANDS

forever, the same to be an annual charge upon his Cobbosseecontee estate; he also devised ten acres of land to be used as a glebe. By the terms of his will he connected the endowment of the Church with the right of presentation of the living, according to the practise of Church endowments in England, by the successive proprietors of the Cobbossee Contee Estate, which was strictly entailed. It is interesting to note that this privilege, while existent in fact, has yet never been resorted to, or even by a moment thought of by any member of the Gardiner family. Christ Church today, from the original endowment of Dr. Gardiner, combined with the judicious handling of the funds that have



accrued from the sale of the glebe lands, enjoys an income of a little over \$500 per year.

Robert Hallowell, who thus became the heir to the bulk of Dr. Gardiner's real property in Maine, was the son of Robert and Hannah Gardiner Hallowell, and the grandson of Benjamin Hallowell, one of the original proprietors of the Kennebec Purchase. He was born in Bristol, England, February 10, 1782, during the temporary residence of his father's family abroad. The Hallowells were among the early settlers of Boston, and were very prominent in the affairs of that town up to the time of the Revolution; like the Gardiners they were Royalists and after the evacuation of Boston by the British, Robert Hallowell and his family withdrew to the mother country. When young Robert was ten years of age the family returned to Boston where they occupied the family mansion which had escaped confiscation out of respect to the life estate of his paternal grandmother.

Robert Hallowell attended the public Latin School for a few months and was then sent to Phillips Andover Academy; he remained here for only a short time and then returned to Boston where he was tutored for a time in the classics by his cousin, Rev. Dr. John Sylvester John Gardiner, who was renowned as one of the most brilliant classical scholars of his time; later he was sent to Derby Academy in Hingham, where he remained until he was fitted for college. At the age of fifteen he entered Harvard where he was noted as a brilliant and thorough student, graduating in 1801, the second in his class. Among his classmates were Channing, Story and Stephen Longfellow. During one of his college vacations, in company with one of his friends, he for the first time visited his Kennebec estates; on the occasion of this visit the two friends traveled eastward as far as Thomaston, where they enjoyed for several days the lavish hospitality of General Henry Knox, at Montpelier.

Two years yet remained before he should attain his majority, and his constitution being naturally frail, he yielded to the advice of his friends and decided to travel in Europe; he remained there until the early spring of 1803,



when his estates needing his immediate attention, he returned home, much invigorated in health, although then, as throughout his life, always a man of seemingly delicate constitution.

On November 6, 1801, he had petitioned the Massachusetts Legislature to have his name changed to that of Gardiner in accordance with the terms of his grandfather's will; on March 11, 1802, a special act was passed by the Legislature enacting "that Robert Hallowell, the younger, of Boston, in the county of Suffolk, gentleman, shall be allowed to take the name of Robert Hallowell Gardiner."

For a period of over a quarter of a century the Gardinerston estates had remained practically at a standstill; during this time no one had properly attended to the business interests of the proprietor; gradually the mills, dams, wharves and dwellings went to decay; shingles, clapboards and even boards had been torn off the Great House by its tenants for firewood; legal tenants had abandoned the property, and none of the land could be sold because of the entail; but occupants were not wanting, and without right or title, squatters came in and settled on much of the land. Within the present limits of Gardiner, of ninety-seven families settled there, only eleven had any legal right to the lands which they occupied. The valley of the Cobbosseecontee was a dense forest, as was all of the country back from the Kennebec, with the exception of an occasional farm.

We can readily see what an appalling problem confronted the heir, then a mere youth, born and bred in luxury, accustomed to the best society that Boston could afford, with no business experience or training, with no wise friend to advise or direct him, in this new country where he had come into possession of these vast landed estates, without ready money or sufficient income to develop them. His task was made even more formidable by a certain amount of prejudice which must needs exist against an absentee owner of foreign nativity, of loyalist parentage, and of aristocratic kindred. There must have been, however, a certain amount of loyalty to the family which owned



the land, for on February 17, 1803, we find that the town was set off from ancient Pittston and incorporated under the name of Gardiner, in honor of Robert Hallowell Gardiner.

Mr. Gardiner arrived in Gardiner in the summer of 1803, after what must have been at that time a long and tedious journey from Boston. He immediately proceeded to repair the dams and mills built by his grandfather, and offered liberal inducements for manufacturers to settle there. He repaired the Great House and for many years it was used as the town tavern. He proceeded to break the entail, wisely foreseeing that his grandfather's noble plan, no matter how well suited it might have been to English minds, could never be in sympathy with the democratic institutions of the infant republic. The breaking of the entail was a slow and tedious process through the old English mode of fine and recovery; he further had to compensate those who were next in remainder to himself and his children. Nearly ten years had elapsed before the lands were freed from this burden.

Finding that it was slow work to compromise individually with the so-called squatters, he addressed a circular letter to every such settler or tenant in the township, inviting them to meet him in a room engaged for the purpose at a certain day or hour. There were many intruders in the room who were disposed to make considerable trouble. The slender youth showed the quality of his temper and breeding by without hesitation demanding that all who had no business there should immediately leave the room; such was the effect of this demand upon them that they were effectually cowed and at once departed without making further trouble. He proceeded to offer such eminently fair terms, either to purchase the lands, making due allowance for the betterments, or to sell upon an equally fair basis, that he then and there practically settled the matter, only one refusing to compromise; later he was ejected under due process of law. Throughout the entire territory the course of Mr. Gardiner had a most salutary effect, as there were many in the adjoining towns who were



interested observers of the result of his policy. The happy union of determination with a conciliating regard to the interests and feelings of all, tended much to promote harmony in the community, and to create respect for the youthful proprietor. He invited new inhabitants by sales and leases on such terms as promised every advantage, and began at once that career of liberal outlay which so largely aided to build up the town, and at the same time make it a pleasant residence for his own family. Within ten years the population had doubled.

During a period of nearly sixty years Mr. Gardiner was closely identified with all things that made for the business, social, educational and religious interests of his city. He was not what the world terms a successful business man; he was a gentleman and a scholar, possessing fine literary and artistic tastes. Inheriting those vast landed estates of thousands upon thousands of acres of land, had he possessed keen business instincts he might easily have been one of the wealthy men of the country. He erected expensive dams and later spent vast sums of money in the purchase of flowage rights, to enable him to store the water necessary for the operation of his mills; he built the first paper mill which proved a very profitable investment; later he lost heavily in his experiments with the introduction of machinery. He built a fulling mill, a furnace, forge, nail and spike factory, a pail and tub factory, and a starch mill; some of these enterprises proved to be disastrous failures. Of sawmills he had many, thirteen at one time on the lower dam, and year after year their taxes, repairs and insurance greatly exceeded their income. He built wharves which were always a loss to him; time and again he aided enterprises that proved disastrous, and his losses by fire, flood and failure were enormous. He felt it necessary for the growing needs of the city to invest heavily in the stock of the Kennebec and Portland railroad, which proved a total loss. Fortune and failure alike, however, he bore with grace and serenity.

No one doubts today that financially he made a mistake in not selling his water privileges instead of retaining and



leasing them; the burden of supporting them and of fostering new and untried enterprises would then have been on other shoulders, and he would have reaped the profits in the increased value of his lands. But Mr. Gardiner always adhered to certain English ideas of business. He believed in the superior advantages within reach of a smaller community, as opposed to a larger one, and refused to sell his mill property, and kept all extended interests in his own hands, thus causing the towns-people to be more or less dependent upon him and his family. Throughout his long life Mr. Gardiner rigidly adhered to this policy and for a century the town has borne the indelible impress of his remarkable character and personality. His position and interests compelled him to participate in every movement which had for its end the promotion of trade, manufactures, agriculture, facility of intercourse or general improvement. Throughout the entire country side he was familiarly known as "Squire" Gardiner, and I doubt if in all America during the nineteenth century there was as true a parallel to the relation of an English Squire to his village and tenantry as has existed in Gardiner between Squire Gardiner and his city and its people. When the growing town was incorporated as a city in 1850 it was more than fitting that Mr. Gardiner should become its first Mayor, which office he filled with ability and distinction for two years.

All other interests in the life of Mr. Gardiner were secondary to his loyalty to the Church in which throughout his long life he was a devout believer in the faith of his fathers. Soon after his arrival he saw the need of a new church for the growing parish and determined to build a more suitable edifice. In the spring of 1819, the corner stone of the present church, known as Christ Church, was laid, and the building was completed and dedicated in September of the following year. The church was built of unhammered granite taken from a quarry in Litchfield and brought on rafts down the Cobbosseecontee to Gardiner. It was as complete, striking and faultless a structure of its own gothic architectural style, as could be found at that time in



the United States, and made the most beautiful ecclesiastical edifice in Maine. Its cost was upwards of \$15,000, nearly the entire expense being borne by Mr. Gardiner. While the interior of the church has been remodelled several times, the exterior today is practically the same as it was a century ago, and it stands as a model of simple, classic architecture, to my mind the most attractive church building it has ever been my good fortune to see. The burial lot adjoining the church, in which practically all the deceased members of the Gardiner family are buried, was presented to the parish by Mr. Gardiner; later he presented to the city the beautiful common upon which the church faces.

So long as he lived Mr. Gardiner continued his attendance at this church, never missing a service unless from absolute necessity; when the infirmities of age rendered it impossible for him to sit in his accustomed pew, he was brought into the church, and reclined on a lounge in the adjoining vestry room. In the absence of a regular minister, he many times officiated as lay reader and instituted a custom which is kept even to this day, of never closing the church for its regular services, even though a layman officiate. He established and himself taught for many years the first Sunday School in Maine, if not the first in New England. To the end of his days he was a lay delegate from Maine to the General Conventions of the Episcopal Church, and was always a regular attendant at all conventions for Church or missions in Maine.

On the same side of the common, at the other corner, Mr. Gardiner established a school, unique in its day, known as the Gardiner Lyceum, built from the same material as Christ Church; here instruction in the classics was eliminated and instead instruction provided for young men in those departments of science which were connected with agricultural and mechanical pursuits, and with the general business and industry of the community. For a period of years Mr. Gardiner entirely supported this school, and later the building was used for the High School of the town.

During the first six years of his residence in Gardiner he occupied the house built by his father in Pittston, which



is still standing in an excellent state of preservation. Finding, however, that the needs of his growing family necessitated a larger dwelling, he went across the river to the Gardiner side and determined upon the location for many years known as Oakland Place or Farms and now known as Oaklands. Here he erected a large frame mansion which he occupied until it was burned in 1834. He then commenced the building of the large manor house occupied by the family as its residence since its completion in 1840. This house is built of the finest Hallowell granite, ornamented with buttresses, turrets and battlements of hammered granite, and is of the type of rural architecture prevailing in England during the reigns of Henry VIII and Elizabeth. The architect was Mr. Richard Upjohn, who designed Trinity Church, New York, and its first cost was about \$33,000.

In his private life Mr. Gardiner lived much after the fashion of an English country gentleman of means, residing the larger portion of the year at Oaklands, but invariably spending a few weeks every winter at his Boston residence. His own immediate family was large, there being nine children, and together with relatives of himself or wife, for many years a family of not less than twenty dwelt under his hospitable roof. He entertained lavishly, and scarcely an intelligent or well known traveler from abroad but was almost sure to bring letters which threw open his doors. In the early days when the judges of the Massachusetts Courts came to Maine on their annual circuits, they would almost invariably pass one Sunday with Mr. Gardiner in his hospitable home, and the following Sunday with the Vaughans of Hallowell. Mr. Gardiner numbered among his personal friends Webster, Kent, Channing, Prescott, Judge Story, Otis, Longfellow, Hawthorne, many of the Harvard professors, and numerous other literary men of the day. They were all frequently and hospitably entertained at Oaklands. In 1847 President Polk together with the future President Buchanan were visitors at Oaklands.

Mr. Gardiner was a charter member of the Maine Historical Society and for ten years its honored president; he



was a lifelong member of the Maine Agricultural Society and the Maine Pomological Society, and for a period of many years was either an overseer or trustee of Bowdoin College.

Throughout his long and active life he was the foremost citizen of his city and one of the best known citizens of his state, and when he died in March, 1864, at the age of 82 years, the entire community felt that it had sustained an irreparable loss.

An interesting illustration of the likeness of Mr. Gardiner to the English country gentleman is evidenced in the callings towards which he directed his three sons; of course his oldest son, Robert Hallowell, was destined to succeed him in the ownership of the estates; his second son, John William Tudor, was fitted for the army; while his third son, Frederick, was prepared for the ministry.

Upon his death, Robert Hallowell Gardiner, second, or Mr. Hallowell Gardiner, as he was more commonly called, succeeded his father in the ownership of Oaklands and the other Gardiner property. Like his father he was a graduate of Harvard and lived nearly his entire life in Gardiner, save for a few years residence in the South. He well maintained the traditions of the family for courtesy, refinement, culture and splendid hospitality. He succeeded his honored father in all the interests of the Church, as well as in the civic, industrial and social life of his city. He developed a keen interest in agriculture, especially in orcharding and gardening, and he it was who planted the beautiful orchards which have made Oaklands famous throughout the entire country side.

He numbered among his personal friends many prominent men of the country, and nothing afforded him greater pleasure than to entertain them at his beautiful home. In 1874, when on his eastern tour, President Grant and his suite were entertained at Oaklands by Mr. Gardiner.

He dearly loved his ancestral home, with its beautiful hills, its winding valleys, and its magnificent trees, and could not bear to let any part of it go out of his possession. There are three wooded eminences on the estate known as

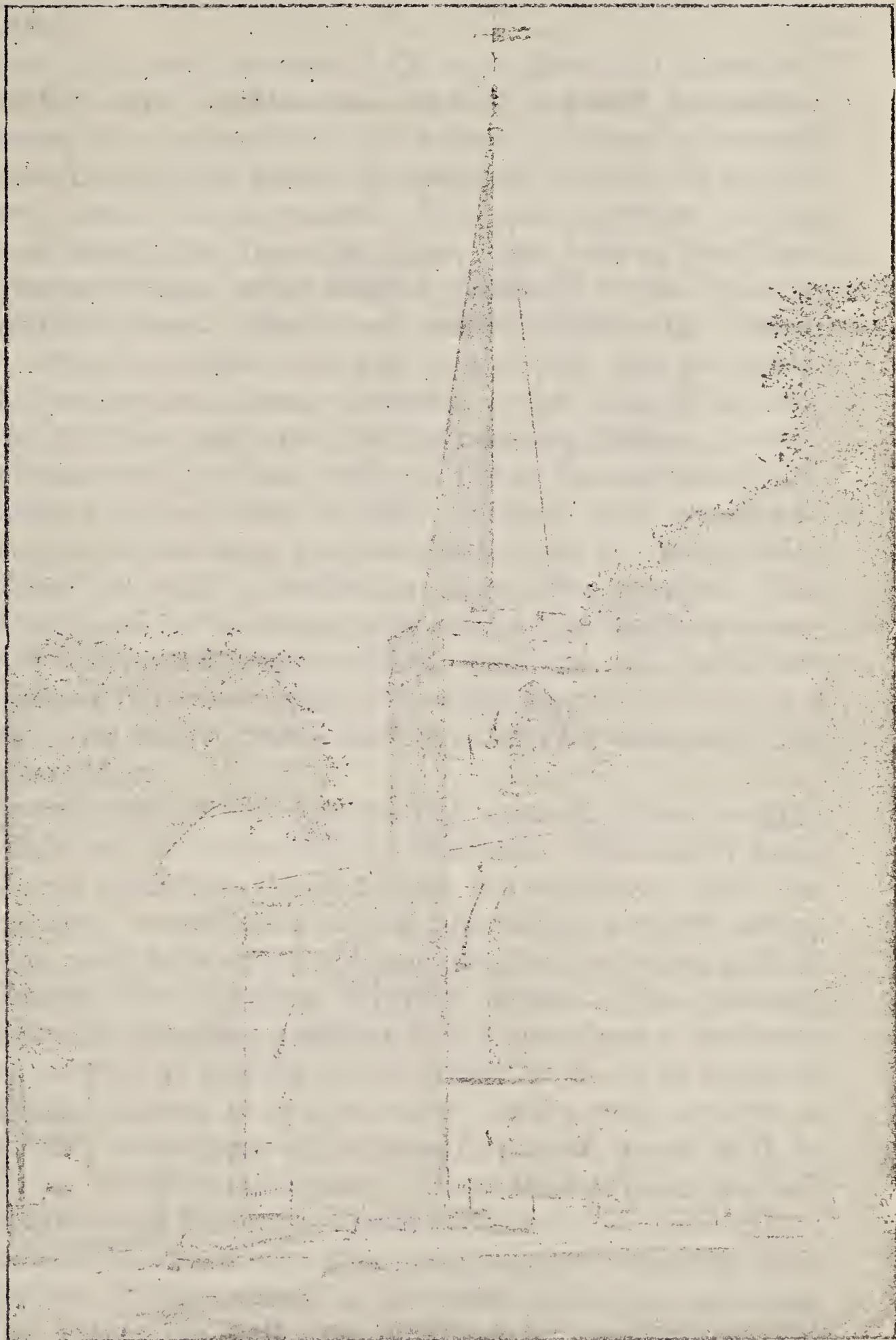


Mounts Tom, Dick and Harry; when asked to sell to the railroad Mount Harry for a gravel bank he answered quietly and sadly, "No, I cannot sell Harry; he has been with Tom and Dick all his life. They would miss him; they would be lonely without him." To his poetic and imaginative nature these hills were as things of life.

Mr. Gardiner died September 12, 1886, at the age of 77 years. Although his ownership of the estate had been brief, yet he had so closely followed in the footsteps of his father that he had come to largely take his place in the activities of the Church, the town and the various organizations throughout the state, in which his father had for so many years borne a leading part. He had no children and by his will he devised Oaklands to his nephew next in remainder, Robert Hallowell Gardiner, third, the oldest son of his brother, Colonel John William Tudor Gardiner, who is the present owner of the estate. Mr. Gardiner is a successful lawyer in Boston, although he retains his citizenship in Gardiner, and spends his summers there, as well as frequent week ends throughout the winters. In all respects he is a worthy representative of an able and distinguished family. Like his ancestors he is a zealous Churchman, and every Sunday when at Oaklands he is a regular attendant at the little Church established by his great-great-grandfather nearly a century and three-quarters ago. As a layman he has held many high offices in his Church, having been for five years President of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew and at the present time a member of its Council. Since 1910 he has been Secretary of the Commission of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, appointed to bring about a World Conference on questions of Faith and Order.

He has a son, Robert Hallowell Gardiner, fourth, who was a major in the service of the United States, during the World War and now associated with him in the Boston office, and also a grandson, Robert Hallowell Gardiner, fifth, so that the family name bids fair to be perpetuated for many years to come. A second son, William Tudor Gardiner, who was an officer in the Milliken Regiment, resides





CHRIST CHURCH, GARDINER, MAINE



at Oaklands and maintains law offices in Augusta and Gardiner.

Oaklands stands as one of the most beautiful examples of English rural architecture, and of splendid landscape gardening, in our country. Its natural location on one of the most beautiful of rivers, in the midst of fine and varied scenery, cannot be surpassed. The main frontage of the house of ninety feet faces the river, some four or five hundred yards distant, while sloping gradually to the river is a beautiful lawn. North and south extends the broad river, while on either side and in the rear are the three wooded eminences already referred to as Tom, Dick and Harry. In the rear are the farmhouse, stables, barns, greenhouses and gardens, while as far as the eye can reach stretches a broad vista of field, orchard and woodland. Across one of the deep ravines south from the house, Mr. Gardiner has built a footbridge of massive granite. The main approach to the house is by means of a winding driveway through park and woodland, and one can catch but glimpses of the house until at its very doors. A driveway through the entire estate leads to the rear entrance and farm buildings.

In the house itself, a large hall runs its entire length, the main portion extending to the roof. When first built the house contained thirty rooms, but additions made by the present owner have added practically a third story, without materially altering the original appearance, so that the house now numbers forty-six rooms. The massive fireplaces in the older portions of the house are a reminder of the method of heating in its earlier days. The house is splendidly finished in oak and other hard woods, while it is a veritable storehouse of antique furniture, much of it in beautiful, massive mahogany. Upon the walls of the hall and parlors are family portraits of four or five generations of the family, by distinguished painters, and copies by some of the best Italian artists of the more celebrated paintings in the Florentine galleries, obtained by members of the family when abroad. Prominent among the portraits is that of Dr. Sylvester Gardiner, painted about 1770 by Copley, which hangs near the entrance to the hall; it is a vivid



representation of a man past the meridian of life, and dressed in the scarlet coat of England, relieved by glittering buttons and white frills at the wrist. Between the side curls of a white wig a kindly, keen old face looks out; a face to whose humorous curve of lip and glance of eye is added the evidence of thought and practical tendencies in the high forehead and vertical lines above the nose; altogether a strong, vigorous character; a man of deep feelings, firm attachments and earnest purposes; a worthy ancestor of a sturdy line of descent. Another interesting portrait by the same distinguished artist is that of Dr. Gardiner's oldest daughter, Ann, who was a famous beauty of her day, painted in the guise of the huntress Diana.

Oaklands is run as a model farm by its present owner. Every kind of fruit and vegetable in any way adapted to our climate may be found here; the orchards and extensive gardens are the wonder and admiration of all visitors. The estate comprises nearly five hundred acres, well divided into field, pasture and woodland. A large flock of sheep is kept, but the pride of the place is its model herd of dairy cows numbering some fifty head, and supplying the people of the town with the best of dairy products. Mr. Gardiner takes a keen interest in agriculture, and is a prominent member of the state agricultural and pomological societies.

Long may Oaklands stand, associated as it is with culture, refinement and gentle birth; long may it remain in the possession of the splendid family who have enriched it with enduring associations of the best and noblest traditions of English family life, at the same time indelibly stamping the community which it has fathered with those ideals evolved from generations of gentle breeding and clean, wholesome living. It stands, monumental to that passion which has characterized English people from the earliest days, for the ownership of land, and the passing of that land, enriched and hallowed by the traditions of the years, through generation after generation, in unbroken lines of descent. Contrary as it may have been in some respects in its development and growth to the temper



and spirit of the new Republic, yet it stands as a constant reminder of that able, distinguished, always conservative but in the main just, class of landed proprietors which, from the very beginnings of England as a nation, has been the constant bulwark of all those institutions which we hold dear. It stands as a veritable bit of old England in our midst, serving to remind us of a day and generation, the last vestiges of which are rapidly disappearing, but the immortal influences of which, please God, shall never die.

Since the above article has been written Robert Hallowell Gardiner died, June 15th, 1924, and by his will the title to Oaklands passes to his wife, Alice (Bangs) Gardiner.



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